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THE COUNTY OF ILLINOIS

THE claims of Virginia to the territory beyond the river Ohio were greatly strengthened by the campaigns of General George Rogers Clark against the British posts on the Mississippi and the Wabash. Before these campaigns Virginia's title was based upon an interpretation of the royal charters. She now had whatever rights could accrue to her from the conquest of the lands in question. It was a most cogent argument in support of her pretensions that the British posts had been reduced by Virginian valor and that they were actually in the possession of Virginian troops. The legislature of that commonwealth was awake to the advantages of the situation, and in October, 1778, it enacted a law entitled "An act establishing the County of Illinois, and for the more effectual protection and defence thereof."¹ The preamble recited that "by a successful expedition carried on by the Virginia militia, on the western side of the Ohio river, several British posts within the territory of this commonwealth, in the country adjacent to the river Mississippi, have been reduced, and the inhabitants have acknowledged themselves citizens thereof, and taken the oath of fidelity to the same, and the good faith and safety of the commonwealth require that the said citizens should be supported and protected by speedy and effectual reinforcements, which will be the best means of preventing the inroads and depredations of the Indians upon the inhabitants to the westward of the Allegheny mountains." The preamble further stated that it was expedient to establish some temporary form of government adapted to the circumstances of the people west of the mountains, since it would be "difficult, if not impracticable, to govern them by the present laws of this commonwealth, until proper information, by intercourse with their fellow

¹ Hening, *Statutes at Large*, IX. 552-555.

citizens, on the east side of the Ohio, shall have familiarized them to the same."¹ In order to provide a government suited to the peculiar condition of the inhabitants, the vast region beyond the Ohio which now comprises five great states was erected into a county called the "County of Illinois." The governor of Virginia was empowered to appoint a county lieutenant or commandant-in-chief in the county, and he in turn was to appoint and commission as many deputy commandants, militia officers and commissaries as he should deem proper. In both cases the officers thus provided for were to hold their positions during the pleasure of the appointing power. Little was said about the powers and duties of the county lieutenant. In all criminal cases wherein the accused was convicted, the county lieutenant might grant a pardon, except in cases of murder and treason. In such cases he could cause execution to be postponed until the sense of the governor, in the case of murder, and of the General Assembly, in the case of treason, could be ascertained. He was required to convene the citizens in the various districts for the election of such civil officers as they had been accustomed to under the French-English régime prior to Clark's expedition. Officers thus chosen were to be commissioned by the county lieutenant, and were to have the jurisdiction and powers exercised by them under the laws to which the inhabitants of the county had been accustomed. All civil officers were required to take the oath of fidelity to the commonwealth and the oath of office according to the form of their own religion; and full civil and religious liberty was guaranteed to them and to all the inhabitants of the county. Such civil officers as the inhabitants had been accustomed to were to be paid for their services in the same manner as such expenses had formerly been borne; but where any other officers were directed to be appointed by this act, the governor, with the advice of his council, was authorized to issue warrants on the treasury of the commonwealth for the payment of their salaries. The repeated references made to the laws to which the people had been accustomed are indicative of a desire on the part of the legislature to make the transition from one régime to another as easy as possible. By preserving local customs and local organs of government, and by introducing few new officials, it was hoped that the change could be accomplished with little disturbance.

For the protection and defence of the new county, the governor was authorized to raise and equip five hundred men, who should march at once to the Illinois country to garrison the forts and stations that had been taken. The governor was to meet the expenses

¹ Hening, IX. 553.

of this military occupation by drawing warrants upon the treasurer of the commonwealth.

The temporary character of this county organization was evident not only from the declaration to that effect in the preamble, but also from the fact that the act of establishment was expressly limited in its operation. It was to be in force "for and during the period of twelve months, and from thence to the end of the next session of assembly, and no longer."¹ In May, 1780, the act was continued "for one year after the passing of this act, and from thence to the end of the next session of assembly."² The statutory organization of Illinois expired therefore in 1781, and from that time until the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, there was no government resting upon positive provisions of law in the territory northwest of the river Ohio.³

Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia, soon took the necessary steps for putting the new government into operation. On December 12, 1778, he appointed John Todd county lieutenant or commandant, and addressed to him a statesmanlike letter of instructions.⁴ He said :

"The Grand Objects which are disclosed to the View of your countrymen will prove Beneficial or otherwise according to the Vallue and Abilities of those who are called to Direct the affairs of that remote Country. The present crisis rendered so favourable by the Good Disposition of the French and Indians may be Improv'd to Great purposes, but if unhapily it Should be lost, a returne of the Same attachments to us may never happen. Considering, therefore, that earley Prejudices are so hard to weare Out, you will Take Care to Cultivate and conciliate the affections of the French and Indians.

"Altho Great reliance is placed on your prudence in managing the people you are to reside amoung, yet consider'g you as unacquainted in some Degree with their Genius, usages, and maners, as well as the Geography of the Cuntry, I recommend it to you to consult and advise with the most inteligable and upright persons who may fall in your way.

"You are to give pertiklar Attention to Col^o Clark and his Corps, to whome the State has Great Obligations. You are to cooperate with him on any military undertaking when necessary, and to Give the military every Aid which the circumstance of the people will admit of. the

¹ Hening, *Statutes at Large*, IX. 555.

² *Id.*, X. 303

³ The ordinance for the government of the western territory adopted by Congress in 1784 was never put into operation.

⁴ John Todd's Record Book, *Chicago Historical Society's Collections*, IV. 289-293. Governor Henry's letter has been reprinted several times, and with very considerable variations. It may be found in Edwards, *History of Illinois and Life of Ninian Edwards*, in English, *The Conquest of the Northwest*, and in Henry, *Patrick Henry*, III. 212-216. Of the copy in Todd's Record Book, Mr. E. G. Mason said that it "probably is in Patrick Henry's handwriting. At all events his own signature is subscribed thereto." The extracts from the letter given in this paper are reproduced with verbal and literal exactness as they appear in Todd's Record Book.

Inhabitants of the Illinois must not expect settled peace and safety while their and Our enemies have footing at Detroit and can Intercept or Stop the Trade of the Mississippi. If the English have not the Strength or Courage to come to war against us Themselves, their practice has been and Will be to hire the savages to commit murders and depredations. Illinois must expect to pay in these a large price for her freedom unless the English can be Expelled from Detroit. the means of Effecting this will not perhaps be found in your or Col^o Clark's power, but the French inhabiting the neighbourhood of that place, it is presumed, may be brought to see it Done with indifference or perhaps Joyne in the Enterprize with pleasure. this is but conjecture. when you are on the Spot you and Col^o Clark may Discover its fallacy or reality if the former appears, defence only is to be the Object. if the latter or a good prospect of it, I hope the Frenchmen and Indians at your Disposall will shew a Zeal for the affaire equal to the Benefits to be Derived from Establishing Liberty and permanent peace.

"One Great Good expected from Holding the Illinois is to overawe the Indians from warring on our Settlers on this side the Ohio. a close attention to the Disposition, care, and movements of the Hostile Tribes is therefore necessary for you the forces and militia at Illinois by being placed on the back of them may inflict timely chastisement on these enemies, whose Towns are an easy prey in absence of their Warriors.

"You perceive by these hints that something in the military line may be Expected from you so far as the Occasion calls for the assistance of the people composing the militia it will be necessary to cooperate with the Troops sent from here. and I know of no better Gen^l Direction to Give than this, that you Consider yourself at the head of the Civil department, and as Such having the Comm^d of the militia, who are not to be under the Comm^d of the military until ordered out by the Civil Authority, and to Act in conjunction with them.

"You are on all Accatons to inculcate on the people the Value of liberty and the Difference between the State of free Citizens of this Commonwealth and that Slavery to which the Illinois was Destined. A free and equal representation may be Expected by them in a little Time, together with all the improv^{ts} in Jurisprudence and police which the Other parts of the State enjoy.

"It is necessary for the Happiness, increase and prosperity of that Country that the Grievances that obstruct these blessings be known in order to their removal, let it therefore be your Care to obtain information on that subject that proper plans may be formed for the General Utility. Let it be your Constant Attention to see that the inhabitants have Justice administered to them for any Injury rec^d from the Troops, the omission of this may be fatal. Col^o Clark has Instructions on this Head, and will, I Doubt not, exert himself to curb all licentious practices of the Soldiery, which if unrestrained would produce the most baneful effects.

"You will also Discountenance and punish every attempt to Violate the property of the Indians, particularly in their lands. Our enemies have alarmed them much on that score, but I hope from your prudence and Justice that no grounds of Compl^t will be administered on this Subject.

"You will embrace every opportunity to manifest the high regard and friendly sentiments of this Commonwealth towards all the Subjects of his Catholic Majesty, for whose safety, prosperity, and advantage [advancement] you will give every possible advantage. You will make a

Tender of the Friendship and Services of y^r people to the Spanish Commandant neare Kaskaskia, and Cultivate the Strictest Connection with him and his people. I deliver you a letter which you will hand to him in person.

“The Ditaile of your Duty in the civil Department I need not give you, its best Direction will be found in y^r innate love of Justice and Zeal, to be intencively usefull to your fellow-men. A general Direction to act according to the best of y^r Judgment in cases where these Instructions are Silent and the laws have not Otherwise Directed is given to you from the necessity of the Case, for y^r Great Distance from Govern^t will not permit you to wait for Orders in many Cases of Great Importance.

“in your negociations with the Indians confine the stipulaⁿ as much as possible to the single object of obtaining peace from them. Touch not the subject of land or bounderies till pertick^r Orders are rec^d; when necessity requ^rs it, presents may be made, but be as frugall in that matter as possible and let them know that Goods at present is Scarce with us, but we expect soon to Trade freely with all the world, and they shall not want when we can get them.

“The matters given you in Charge are Singular in their Nature and Weighty in their Consequences to the people imediately concerned and to the whole State. they require the fullest exertion of y^r Abillitys and Unwearied Diligence”

On the same day, Governor Henry addressed a letter to George Rogers Clark, directing him to retain the command of all the troops within the boundaries of the new county. As in the case of Todd, he was instructed to cultivate the good will of the French and Indians. He was especially cautioned to adopt severe discipline with his troops in order to prevent their doing any injury to the persons or property of the inhabitants. The letter continues, “John Todd, Esq., being appointed county lieutenant according to law during pleasure, with ample power chiefly confined to the civil department, will have directions to act in concert with you whenever it can be done. On your part you will omit no opportunity to give him the necessary co-operation of the troops when the case necessarily requires it. Much depends upon the mutual assistance you will occasionally afford each other in your respective departments, and I trust that a sincere cordiality will subsist between you—the contrary will prove highly detrimental.”¹

Colonel Todd soon took his departure for the scene of his duties and arrived at Kaskaskia in May, 1779.² Prior to his arrival Colonel Clark had given some attention to civil affairs, but they were not to his taste and he gladly welcomed the coming of Todd.³ The latter began at once to organize the government in accordance

¹ Draper Collection, Clark MSS., LX. 1-4; Henry's *Patrick Henry*, III. 209-212.

² Letter of George Rogers Clark to George Mason, Nov. 19, 1779, *Ohio Valley Historical Series*, III. 84. It is said that the French inhabitants greeted Todd with shouts of “Vive le roi!”

³ *Id.*, III. 85.

with the instructions that he had received. On May 14 he organized the militia, appointing Richard Winston deputy commandant at Kaskaskia and issuing commissions to Nicholas Janis and Joseph Duplassey as captains of companies. On May 17 he appointed François Trottier to be deputy commandant at Cahokia, while Jean Bte. Barbeau was assigned to the same office at Prairie du Rocher.¹ In thus providing for the defense of his people against attacks from without before attempting to deal with purely civil affairs, Todd acted in accordance with the practice which must prevail in all such cases. The first need of a primitive community is for protection. In this instance the situation of the people was peculiarly hazardous. Their position on the frontier exposed them to attacks from the Indians surrounding them, as well as from the troops of the British, who were anxious to recover their lost fortresses. Hence the wisdom of the earliest possible organization of the militia.

Todd next turned his attention to civil affairs. In compliance with Governor Henry's instructions he assembled the people for the election of civil officers and especially for the choice of judges of the courts at Vincennes, Cahokia and Kaskaskia. This election marked a great change in the political organization of the people. Courts had existed in Illinois for some time, but they had administered the laws of a distant kingdom and the people had had no choice in the selection of the judges. This was undoubtedly the first election held in Illinois.² With but one exception all the officers chosen bore French names.³ Several of those to whom Todd had given commissions in the militia were also elected to civil office. Among them were Richard Winston, deputy commandant at Kaskaskia, who was elected sheriff at Kaskaskia: and François Trottier, deputy commandant at Cahokia, who was elected a member of the court at that place. Four of the nine judges of the court of Kaskaskia, four of the seven judges of the court of Cahokia, and five of the nine judges of the court of Vincennes had already received military commissions from Colonel Todd. It has been suggested that the selection of persons already holding office was due to the lack of persons properly qualified to fill the places still remaining vacant.⁴ This difficulty, which might easily occur in a frontier community, was not soon removed. More than fifteen years later Governor St. Clair complained that it was impossible to

¹ Todd's Record Book, *Chicago Historical Society's Collections*, IV. 294 seq.

² E. G. Mason in the *Magazine of American History*, VIII. 590.

³ Lists of the officers elected are given in Todd's Record Book, *Chicago Historical Society's Collections*, IV. 295.

⁴ Moses, *Illinois*, I. 160.

find persons in the Northwest Territory who were properly qualified for the office of judge.¹

The inauguration of the new government was attended with many difficulties, two of which especially imperilled its success. The first was the sparseness of population in the vast area under Todd's jurisdiction. His authority extended from Pittsburg to the Mississippi—from the Ohio to the Great Lakes. Even in 1795, Governor St. Clair estimated the whole population of this region to be only fifteen thousand.² The country was too thinly settled to sustain any elaborate frame of government, and it was found almost impossible to carry out the simple provisions of that which had been established. The arm of the executive could not reach every part of the county, and as a result many isolated settlements were practically without any organized government.³ The second difficulty in the way of the new government was the fact that the population was largely French. They were strangers to the governmental policy which was now established over them. They wished not so much to govern as to be governed. The forms of the common law, trial by jury, popular elections,—indeed, the idea that they themselves were to shape the fortunes of the new government—all these belonged to a polity to which they were unaccustomed, and were innovations which they received with little favor.

The civil department of the government of Illinois county consisted of two parts. The first was the executive, represented in the beginning by Colonel Todd; the second was the courts, which were elected by the people in accordance with Governor Henry's instructions. Todd seems to have entered with zeal upon the performance of his duties; but his path was not one of roses and he soon asked to be relieved of his office. In August, 1779, only three months after his arrival, he wrote to Governor Henry that he would resign the following spring. The unwholesome air, his distance from his connections, the unfamiliarity with the language, and the impossibility of procuring many of the conveniences of life combined to render his situation uncomfortable, and made him anxious to lay down his office.⁴ And there were other things which made him

¹ *St. Clair Papers*, II. 348.

² Burnet, *Notes on the Early Settlement of the Northwestern Territory*, p. 31.

³ The French settlements in Illinois seem to have been unable to devise any sort of government for themselves. In striking contrast is the political aptitude of the English, an excellent example of which is afforded by the people of Clarksville, a little settlement on the Ohio River, opposite Louisville, Kentucky. As Congress made no provision for their government, they held a convention and adopted a constitution. A year later they held another convention and amended their constitution. Both the constitution and the amendment are printed in the *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, II. 691.

⁴ John Todd Papers, *Chicago Historical Society's Collections*, IV. 319.

dissatisfied with his position. His relations with Captain McCarty, the commander of the troops at Cahokia, were far from cordial. According to Todd, McCarty had endeavored to make the civil power subordinate to the military at Cahokia and had incurred the hatred of the inhabitants.¹ He was unable to maintain his authority, and the people told him that nobody had sent for him, that nobody wanted him, and threatened to drive him and his men away. As a result, most of his French soldiers deserted in the summer and fall of 1779.² McCarty attributed the unfriendly disposition of the inhabitants to Colonel Todd, and in a letter to Colonel Montgomery he said, "Col. Todd's residence here will spoil the people entirely, for the inhabitants no more regard us than a parcel of slaves. . . . I think it would be a happy thing could we get Col. Todd out of the country, for he will positively set the inhabitants and us by the ears. . . . I have never seen the people of this place so mutinous as they are by the encouragement of Col. Todd, for they even begin to threaten to turn my men out of doors, and God knows what I shall do if they do, for we are not above 20 strong and them sick that I could depend on so they may starve us if they like."³ McCarty also wrote a sharp letter to Todd, accusing him of inciting the people to kill his hogs, which were running about in the open fields.⁴ The exasperation aroused by the loss and destruction of his property embittered him against Todd and his government and made Todd's position even more uncomfortable than before.⁵

¹ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I. 460.

² Letter from Capt. John Williams to General Clark, Sept. 25, 1779. Draper Collection, Clark MSS., XLIX., No. 73.

³ Draper Collection, Clark MSS., XLIX., No. 71.

⁴ *Id.*, XLIX., No. 72.

⁵ A year later, October 14, 1780, McCarty wrote to Todd a humble letter of retraction, in which he said, "Sir, When shall I begin to appollagize for the Different light and Oppinion, I saw and had of You when hear last Year, and now. the Spirit of a free subject that you inculcated thro' your better knowledge of things was hid to me. In short, Honour requires of me to render You the Justice you deserve, and at the same time to inform you the reason of my altering my notions of things. I then thought the Troops hear would be duly supported by the State, and the Legal expence for them paid to the people Justly. I had thought the duty of an Officer who had any Command was to see Justice done his Soldiers, and that they had their Rights without wronging his Country. I then thought it was also his Duty to fore see and use all manner of oeconomie in Laying up Provisions for these Soldiers, to carry on any Operation that his superiours should judge expedient to order him on, without any regard to private interests whatever, but for the Good of the State he served. I then never Imagined that an Agent would be sent hear to Trade in connection with a Private Person to Purchase the Certificates from the people at such rates which must appear scandalous and Dishonorable to the State.

"To the contrary of all which I am now convinced by occular Demonstration; in short we are become the Hated Beasts of a whole people by Pressing horses, Boats &c &c, Killing cattle &c &c, for which no valuable consideration is given; even many not a certificate, which is hear looked on as next to nothing.

"I have sent Col: Clarke, in an Extract from my Journal, the proceedings as far as I

Todd carried out the intention which he had expressed to Governor Henry, and resigned in 1780.¹ He removed to Kentucky and apparently did not visit Illinois again. He was probably succeeded by Thimothé Demunbrunt, a Frenchman who had served as a lieutenant under General Clark during Governor Hamilton's invasion of the Illinois country in 1778-79. There is considerable doubt as to the exact position which this officer held in the government. Governor St. Clair says that when Todd left Illinois, Demunbrunt was substituted for him.² Demunbrunt himself, in a petition which he addressed to the state of Virginia asking compensation for the presents which he had made to the Indians at Kaskaskia in order to preserve their neutrality, says that when Colonel Winston was appointed to the command of Illinois, the colonel had appointed him to be commandant of the village of Kaskaskia, and he had continued in that office until the arrival of Governor St. Clair.³ His position therefore was not the same as that which Todd had held, although he performed many of the duties of county lieutenant.

The other department of the civil organization consisted of the courts. These bodies were established at Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes. They consisted of a clerk, a sheriff, and a body of judges varying in number from six to nine. They must have possessed some executive powers in addition to their judicial functions, for Todd sought their concurrence and assistance in certain of his measures.⁴ All the judges whose names appear in Todd's Record Book were French by birth or descent, and hence had not become ac-

know, of one Col: De la Balme, and his raising a Party to go Against Detroit, Not being a Commander I cannot say whether he has proper authority so to do or not. . . . The people have sent by him memorials to Congress or the French envoy at Philadelphia setting forth all the evils we have done. I think Government should be informed of this, as the people are now entirely allinated Agst us; he has told Indians, french Troops will be hear in the Spring. I have no right to find fault, or Blame my Superiours, yet I have a right to see plain, and wish for the Credit of the State, that Government had Eyes to see hear as Plaine as I do."—*Virginia Calendar of State Papers*, I. 379.

¹ Thomas Jefferson, who succeeded Patrick Henry as governor of Virginia, expressed his regret at this step. "I am sorry you think of resigning your office in the Illinois. the withdrawing of our troops from thence will render the presence of a person of established authority more essential than ever. Your complaints concerning your allowance we think too well grounded, and will lay them before the Assembly in May, who we doubt not will remove them. the other objections, I am in hopes you can get over. It would give us much concern should any necessity oblige you to leave that Country at all, and more especially as early as you speak of." John Todd Papers, *Chicago Historical Society's Collections*, IV. 359.

² *St. Clair Papers*, II. 169; *American State Papers, Public Lands*, I. 19. A memorandum on the inside of the back cover of Todd's Record Book dated 1779 is signed, "Nous, Thimothé Demunbrunt, Lt. Comd't. Par interim, &c &c &c." A similar inscription appears on page 39 of the Record Book.

³ *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, V. 408.

⁴ Todd's Record Book, *Chicago Historical Society's Collections*, IV. 298, 302

quainted by intercourse with the system of law which they were to administer. Such being the case, it is not surprising that they displayed little zeal in the execution of their office. When Todd returned from a visit to Vincennes in July, 1779, he found that the court of Kaskaskia had adjourned to a distant day, hoping thus to rid themselves of an unfamiliar system of law. Todd issued a sharp order to them to hold court at once on that very day, "any adjournment to the contrary notwithstanding."¹ For a number of months thereafter, the sessions of the court at Kaskaskia were probably held with some semblance of regularity. As late as 1787, the court convened almost every month, but its chief task seems to have been to meet and adjourn. Little business was done. From June 5, 1787, to February 15, 1788, but two cases were tried by the judges. At the session of January 15, 1788, the first trace of the jury system is found. On that day the court ordered that jurymen who came from Prairie du Rocher should each receive twenty-five livres, while those from Bellefontaine should have forty-five livres. At the same session a jury was selected for the trial of two cases then pending against one Thomas Green. It is a noticeable fact that while all the judges of the court are French, all the jurymen, as well as all the parties to the cases tried by them, bear English names.²

After Todd left the Illinois country, in the early part of 1780, the government became much demoralized. The statute of Virginia under which it was organized expired in 1781, but many of the civil officers, particularly the courts, continued to exercise some of their functions. Demunbrunt made grants of land without number. The courts also assumed this power and exercised it freely. They claimed to act by the authority of Todd, whom they styled the Grand Judge for the United States. But Todd was not

¹ Todd's Record Book, *Chicago Historical Society's Collections*, IV. 304.

² Todd's Record Book, *Chicago Historical Society's Collections*, IV. 308 *seq.* Todd's Record Book shows that sessions of the court at Kaskaskia were held as follows :

June 5, 1787, adjourned to July 5, 1787.

July 25, 1787, " " August 22, 1787.

September 27, 1787, adjourned to October 15, 1787.

October 15, 1787, adjourned to November 15, 1787.

October 25, 1787, extra session, by request of Demunbrunt and François Carbonaux.
November 15, 1787.

November 16, 1787, adjourned to November 21, 1787.

November 24, 1787, " " December 20, 1787.

November 26, 1787, extra session, by request of "Mr. hugt hunard."

December 11, 1787, extra session, same case.

December 20, 1787, adjourned to December 28, 1787.

December 28, 1787, " " January 15, 1788.

January 15, 1788, " " February 15, 1788.

February 15, 1788, court was adjourned until a public assembly should be held.

empowered to make such grants himself, and it is not probable that he attempted to delegate any such authority to the courts. All these grants were afterwards disallowed by Governor St. Clair, but he recommended that persons who had actually settled upon such lands and made improvements thereon be given a right of preemption.¹

In October, 1780, Richard Winston, sheriff and commandant at Kaskaskia, wrote to Todd that the military forces were trying to bring the entire government under their control and throw off the civil authority. The home government had of late manifested little interest in Illinois affairs, and Winston concludes in a discouraged tone, "The generality of the people are of the opinion that this country will be given up to France."² The situation did not improve. In 1783, the commissioners of the state of Virginia reported to the governor that the Illinois country was in great confusion for the lack of some one with authority to enforce order. The French inhabitants were not well inclined toward Virginia, and the neighboring Indians, who had hitherto been friendly, or at least neutral, were going over to the British. The commissioners finally gave it as their opinion that Virginia must speedily take coercive measures if she expected to retain control of the region.³ In the same year Walker Daniel, in a statement dated "New Holland, Feb. 3, 1783," addressed to the Board of Commissioners for the Western Department, said that Mons. Carboneaux, the prothonotary and notary public for the Illinois settlements, had come on a mission to represent the condition of the Illinois country and to obtain some measure of relief. Carboneaux reported that the settlements were wholly without law or government, and that the magistrates, whether from indolence or from sinister motives, had for some time been so remiss in the administration of their office that they had now lost all authority. The greatest disorder prevailed. The most flagrant crimes were committed with impunity. A man might be murdered in his own house and the criminal go unpunished, since the settlements possessed neither sheriff nor prisons. In the midst of this confusion, many persons had made large purchases of land, amounting in some cases to three and four hundred leagues, with the intention of establishing themselves as lords of the soil, as had been done in Canada. Carboneaux suggested that a new officer, whom he calls the President of Judicature, should be sent to the settlements. This officer should be vested with wide executive

¹ *St. Clair Papers*, II. 196; *American State Papers, Public Land*, I. 19.

² *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, I. 381. As to relations with France, compare with Captain McCarty's letter, *ante*, p. 630, note 5.

³ Draper Collection, Clark MSS., LX., Illinois Papers, No. 3, 52-3.

power, and in every village there should be subordinate civil officers with authority to decide all causes upon obligation not exceeding three hundred dollars. For higher amounts there should be at Kaskaskia a court composed of the president and a majority of the magistrates. He admitted that there was no man in the Illinois country of sufficient ability and influence to fill the office of president, and hence some one would have to be sent from Virginia. Carboneaux also thought that a company of regulars should be put under the command of the president for a year or two in order to maintain order and authority.¹ In spite of the urgency of the case as depicted by Carboneaux, the government of Virginia seems to have taken no action.²

Although the state of Virginia had organized the whole country northwest of the River Ohio into a county under her jurisdiction, large parts of it were claimed by other states. But between the years 1781 and 1786, as a result chiefly of the attitude taken by Maryland toward the ratification of the Articles of Confederation, all these claims were ceded to the United States;³ and it was to Congress, therefore, that the people of Kaskaskia, in the summer of 1786, addressed a petition to be provided with a government. To this the reply was made that a plan for their temporary government was under consideration and would be delayed no longer than was necessary.⁴ In the following year, General Harmar visited the settlements, and reported to the Secretary of War that "all these people are entirely unacquainted with what Americans call liberty. Trial by jury, etc., they are strangers to. A commandant with a few troops to give them orders is the best form of government for them; it is what they have been accustomed to."⁵

Although the County of Illinois embraced within its limits all

¹Draper Collection, Clark MSS., LX., Illinois Papers, No. 3, 1-4. Mons. Carboneaux "appears to have been instructed as to the ground of his message by the better disposed parts of the inhabitants of the country whose complaints he represents." *Ibid.*

²Carboneaux afterward carried his petition to Congress and on February 21, 1785, Congress resolved "That one or more commissioners be appointed to repair to the Kaskaskies and Illinois settlements," and the following Thursday was assigned for the election of one commissioner. *Journals of Congress*, IV. 473. Neither the *Journals* nor the *Secret Journals* of Congress contain any further reference to the election of these commissioners. On March 4, 1785, Congress resolved "That 300 dollars be advanced to Francis Carboneaux, agent for the inhabitants of the Kaskaskies and St. Vincents, for which sum he is to be accountable; and that the president draw a warrant accordingly." *Journals of Congress*, IV. 477.

³But Connecticut did not cede her jurisdiction over the Western Reserve until 1800.

⁴*Journals of Congress*, IV. 688.

⁵*St. Clair Papers*, II. 32. As early as September 25, 1779, Captain John Williams had expressed a similar opinion in a letter to General Clark. He said the people were very discontented, and he added in an explanatory tone, "The civil law has ruined them." Draper Collection, Clark MSS., XLIX., No. 73.

the lands beyond the Ohio to which Virginia laid claim, the actual authority of the government of the county never extended beyond the French settlements along the Mississippi and the Wabash. And later when the western lands were ceded to the United States and the government under the Ordinance of 1787 was organized, it was some time before any effects of the change were seen in the old French towns. Governor St. Clair inaugurated the government of the Northwest Territory at Marietta, July 15, 1788. The governor and judges, acting as the territorial legislature, immediately began the enactment of legislation which, in so far as it was of a general nature, applied equally to all parts of the territory. But the measures adopted by the government of St. Clair, like those adopted by the government of Todd, were effective only in the group of settlements in which the executive resided. The acts of the legislature at Marietta had no effect on the Mississippi. Whatever government existed in the French settlements was simply a survival of the Virginia county; and this government, which was never very efficient, grew constantly worse. Todd had made a conscientious effort to establish political institutions according to the ideas of government which prevailed east of the Alleghenies. But the indifference and political incapacity of the French, joined with the inherent difficulties of the situation, defeated his efforts. Demunbrunt's chief activity seems to have been the making of grants of lands. Of actual government there was very little. The county was happily characterized by Governor Reynolds as "a kind of obsolete existence." Legally it ceased to exist in 1781; but some of its forms were kept up until April 27, 1790, when Governor St. Clair organized a part of it into a new county which he called St. Clair County. All semblance of government under the authority of Virginia then came to an end in the Northwest.

CARL EVANS BOYD.

HIDALGO AND MORELOS

ALTHOUGH the political functions of the Spanish Inquisition have been greatly exaggerated by a certain school of writers there can be no question that, except when the prerogatives of the Holy See were involved, it was always ready to assist its masters and to demonstrate that the cause of the state was the cause of religion. This was especially the case in the later stage of its career after the outbreak of the French Revolution had threatened the monarchical principle, and it is prominently manifested in the trials, by the Inquisition of Mexico, of the two foremost martyrs of the war of independence—Hidalgo and Morelos.¹

Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, the parish priest of Los Dolores, who first raised the standard of revolt in conjunction with Allende, Aldama and Abasolo, and who was elected generalissimo of the insurgent army, was a singularly interesting character. Born in 1753, he received his education at the university of San Nicolás in Valladolid (Michoacan), where he became rector and theological professor. In the formal accusation presented during his trial it is asserted that he took only the degree of bachelor and refused to present himself for that of doctor because he said the faculty were a pack of ignoramuses; that he was known while there as *el zorro*, or the fox, because of his cunning, and that he was finally expelled in consequence of a scandalous adventure in the course of which he was obliged to escape at night through a window of the chapel—but such statements may be received with allowance. Taking orders, he finally settled at Los Dolores as *cura*, where, in spite of a large revenue, he encumbered himself with debts. He was fond of music and dancing and gaming, and his relations with women were of a character common enough with the clergy of the period. His abounding energy led him to establish potteries and to introduce silk-culture, which may doubtless account for his indebted-

¹The following details, for the most part I believe hitherto inedited, are derived, in so far as concerns the trial of Hidalgo, from a transcript of the original records, made in 1865 by Señor José María Lafragua and kindly communicated to me by David Fergusson, Esq.

As regards the trial of Morelos my authority is a report of the Inquisitor Flores, accompanied with the documents, made to the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, November 27 and December 29, 1815. It is preserved in the Archives of Simancas, Inquisicion, Sala 39, Legajo 1473.

ness. He was regarded as a prodigy of learning and kept up his intellectual interests, translating tragedies of Racine and comedies of Molière, the latter of which he caused to be acted in his house, his favorite being *Tartufe*. The priest Garcia de Carrasqueda, who enjoyed his intimacy for twelve or thirteen years, when on trial before the Inquisition, deposed that they used to read together Cicero, Serry, Fleury's *Ecclesiastical History*, Rollin's *Ancient History* and an Italian work on commerce by Genovesi, and that he praised highly the orations of Æschines and Demosthenes, Bossuet, Buffon's *Natural History*, Pitaval's *Causes Célèbres* and various historical books. He was fond of discussing questionable points in theology and emitting opinions not wholly orthodox on such subjects as the stigmata of St. Francis, the House of Loreto, the Veronica, whether St. Didymus or Gestas was the penitent thief, the transmission of original sin, the identity of the Three Kings and the like, and his high reputation for learning caused him to be accepted as an authority. Altogether he presents himself to us as a man of unusual physical and intellectual energy, not overnice as to the employment of those energies, of wide culture, of vigorous and inquiring mind and of small reverence for formulas or for authority.

Such a character was not likely to escape the notice of the Holy Office, and as early as July 16, 1800, Fray Joaquin Huesca, of the order of Merced and a teacher of philosophy, denounced him to the commissioner of Valladolid for various unorthodox utterances at which Fray Manuel Estrada of the same order had been present, and the latter on being examined confirmed and exaggerated the accusation. In transmitting this to the tribunal, July 19, the commissioner reported that Hidalgo was a most learned man who had ruined himself with gambling and women, that he read prohibited books which perverted his spirit, and that while professor of theology he had taught from Jansenist works. The Inquisition necessarily undertook an investigation which lasted for more than a year and included the testimony of thirteen witnesses, with the result of showing that Hidalgo had denied the doctrine of rewards and punishments in this life and the authenticity of the texts on which it was based; he had spoken disparagingly of the popes, one of whom was probably in hell, and of the government of the church by ignoramuses; he had asserted that no Jew of sound judgment could be converted because there was no proof that the Messiah had come; he had denied the perpetual virginity of the Virgin, and had asserted that transubstantiation and auricular confession were unknown to the primitive church, and he had assented to the popular error that there was no sin in fornication. He was described as revolutionary

in his tendencies, speaking of monarchs as tyrants, and cherishing aspirations for liberty ; he was well read in current French literature and had little respect for the censorship—in short, he was an *afrancesado*. The commissioner of San Miguel el Grande reported, March 11, 1801, much about Hidalgo's disorderly life, and that he carried the Alcoran about with him, but in a second report, of April 13, he stated that during the recent Easter Hidalgo had reformed, a matter which was widely discussed and seems to have attracted general attention. In due time, on September 18, 1801, all the testimony was laid before the fiscal, or prosecuting officer of the Inquisition, who reported, October 2, that if Hidalgo had uttered the propositions attributed to him he should be arrested with sequestration of property, but that the witnesses were contradictory, while Estrada had the reputation of an habitual liar. He therefore recommended that the case be suspended and the papers be filed away for future reference, to which the tribunal assented.

Nothing more was heard about Hidalgo until July 22, 1807, when a priest named José María Castilblane came forward to say that in 1801 Estrada had told him scandalous and heretical things concerning him. More serious was a denunciation made, May 4, 1808, by Maria Manuela Herrera, aged forty-one and described as a woman of good reputation who frequented the sacraments. By command of her confessor she deposed that she had once lived with Hidalgo as his concubine, when he told her that Christ had not died on the cross but that it was another man ; also that there was no hell—this latter, she supposed, being to quiet her conscience, for they had an agreement that she was to provide him with women and he was to provide her with men. This was again laid before the fiscal who reported, June 8, in favor of awaiting further proof. Then, March 15, 1809, Fray Diego Manuel Bringas deposed that he had found Hidalgo in possession of prohibited books, such as Serry's *History of the Congregations De Auxiliis*, both under his own name and that of Augustin Leblanc ; also his *Dissertations on Christ and the Virgin*, in which he speaks without measure of Maria de Agreda and that Hidalgo praised this work and called Maria a deluded old woman.¹ Still, with singular moderation, no

¹The learned Dominican Jacques-Augustin Serry's *Historia Congregationum de Auxiliis*, issued also under the name of Augustin Leblanc, is in the Spanish Index (*Indice Ultimo*, p. 249) but not in the Roman. His *Exercitationes de Christo ejusque V. Matre* are in both.

Maria de Agreda was a Spanish mystic of the seventeenth century in behalf of whose canonization Spain has made persistent and hitherto unsuccessful appeals to the Holy See. Her *Ciudad Mística de Dios* has been more than once condemned in Rome but has escaped a permanent place on the Index through consideration for Spanish susceptibility.

action was taken to check Hidalgo's audacity and had he been content to leave politics alone it is safe to say that the Inquisition would not have troubled him, though it was vexing hundreds of others with far less excuse.

When, however, he started the revolution, September 16, 1810, this lethargy gave place to the utmost activity. The official Gazette of September 28 asserted that he was disseminating among the people the doctrine that there is neither hell, purgatory, nor glory; an extract from this was forthwith sent by the Inquisition to its commissioner at Querétaro with instructions to obtain verification, which he had no trouble in doing, although the evidence was purely hearsay. Without waiting for this, however, the testimony which had so long slumbered in the archives of the *secreto* was laid before the *calificadores* or examiners, October 9, with instructions to report at once. This they did the next day to the effect that as Hidalgo was a sectary of French liberty they pronounced him a libertine, seditious, schismatic, a formal heretic, a Judaizer, a Lutheran, a Calvinist and strongly suspect of atheism and materialism. It was not difficult to reach such conclusions in view of successive edicts of the Inquisition which had been issued in 1808 and 1809 directed against all proclamations and emissaries seeking to pervert the loyalty of the colonists in favor of the ambitious schemes of Napoleon, for in these the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people was defined to be a manifest heresy.

Immediately on receiving the report of the examiners the tribunal resolved that, as Hidalgo was surrounded by his army of insurgents and could not be arrested, he should be summoned by edict to appear within thirty days, in default of which proceedings would be had against him *in absentia*. On the 13th this edict was ready and on the 14th it was posted in the churches and was distributed throughout the land with all possible speed. It is a singular medley of politics and religion, illustrating the duplicate character of the Inquisition of the period and the enormous advantage to the government of possessing control over the ecclesiastical establishment, whereby an attack on the civil power could be made to assume the appearance of an assault on the faith. All the heretical utterances, discredited nine years before by the action of the tribunal, are put forward as absolute facts. It is impiety that has led him to raise the banner of revolt, and to seduce numbers of unhappy dupes to follow him. In the inability to reach him personally he is summoned, under pain of excommunication, to appear for trial within thirty days, as otherwise he will be prosecuted *in rebel-dia*, to definitive sentence and burning in effigy if necessary. All

those who support him or have converse with him, and all those who do not inform against his revolutionary projects, are declared guilty of the crime of fautorship of heresy and subject to the penalties decreed for it by the canons. When to this are added the proclamations of excommunication issued against the insurgents by the Archbishop of Mexico and the bishops of the disturbed districts, it will be seen how powerful was the restraining influence exercised by the Church over a population trained to obedience and how fierce were the passions which braved its anathemas.¹

In fact, the hatred of the creoles and of the Indians for the *Gachupines*, or Spaniards, was so bitter that four-fifths of the native clergy took the side of the insurgents in spite of the censures of the Church and questions of faith became inextricably involved in the conflict between the factions. To the loyalists Hidalgo became a heretic, and indeed a heresiarch, and the confessional was so largely used to sustain their cause that in self-defence the insurgents incurred the charge of a new heresy by asserting that confession to a Gachupin priest was invalid. They derived great comfort, moreover, through their belief in the protection of Our Lady of Guadalupe, who was universally revered, and especially by the Indians, as the sovereign patroness of Mexico. On the fateful 16th of September, when Hidalgo was marching on San Miguel el Grande at the head of his little band of insurgents, in passing through Atotonilco he chanced to take an image on linen of the Guadalupe Virgin and give it to one of his men to carry as a banner. It was adopted by the other bands as they rose and it became the standard of the insurrection, usually accompanied with an image of Ferdinand VII. and of the eagle of Mexico and the inscription "Viva Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe! Viva Fernando VII.! Viva la América y muere el mal gobierno!" To stimulate her intervention, Hidalgo issued a proclamation, just before the disastrous day of the Bridge of Calderon, in which he ordered a novena of masses dedicated to our lady of Guadalupe, "as the sworn Maecenas of all the American nation." Second in rank as a tutelary power of the insurrection was Our Lady of Puebla, and against these the loyalists pitted a new-comer, Our Lady of Los Remedios, who was denounced as a Gachupina by the natives. It was as though there

¹ These comprehensive excommunications led to a result not wholly creditable to the Church. A writer in 1822 calls attention to the fact that while the leading insurgents who were captured were formally reconciled to the Church before they were shot, the mass of the people never paid attention to the censures and were finally received to the sacraments without having been absolved. *El Sol*, Mexico, February 27, 1822, p. 107.

were three Homeric divinities presiding over and participating in the struggle.¹

The Inquisition labored earnestly to get evidence of sacrilegious acts committed by the insurgents and, as they were beaten back, it had its emissaries in the territories abandoned by them collecting testimony as to individuals who had sympathized with the revolt or had opposed the posting of the edict. The most active of these was Fray Simon de la Mora, who accompanied the royal army in its advance. He reported that it was useless to attempt to enumerate the common people, but he sent the names of fifty-nine persons of standing, many of them ecclesiastics, with the evidence against them, and the notes on the margin of the record show that their names were forthwith entered for prosecution.

The edict was duly posted in the towns occupied by the army, but in the course of a night or two it was generally torn down or rendered illegible with paint, in spite of the heavy penalties for thus impeding the Inquisition. Hidalgo felt it necessary to issue a manifesto in his defence, protesting that he had never departed from the faith, and pointing out the contradictory character of the miscellaneous heresies imputed to him. To this the Inquisition replied with another edict, January 26, 1811, reiterating its charges against him, stigmatizing him as a cruel atheist, and prohibiting sundry proclamations issued by the insurgents.²

Meanwhile the trial of Hidalgo *in absentia* was proceeding through its several stages as elaborately and deliberately as though he were a common heretic in time of peace. On November 24, 1810, the tribunal declared that, as it had evidence that Hidalgo on Octo-

¹ The following madrigal, composed by an ecclesiastic of San Miguel el Grande and very popular with the insurgents, shows how they identified their cause with that of religion.

“Quien es tu perfecta guía?
 María.
 Quien reina en tu corazon?
 Su religion.
 Quien su causa defiende?
 Allende.
 Pues mira, escucha y atiende
 Que el valor es lo que importa,
 Pues por eso te exhorta
 María, religion y Allende.”

² One of these proclamations shows the savage character of the insurgent warfare. It sets forth the conditions of the struggle, of which the following will suffice.

4. The European who resists with arms will be put to the sword.

5. When threatened with siege or battle, before commencing we will put to the sword the numerous Europeans in our hands, and will then abide the fortune of war.

6. The American who defends a European with arms will be put to the sword.

Thus was justified in advance the execution of Hidalgo and other chiefs, and the characteristic cruelty of the strife was equally shared.

ber 27 was acquainted with the edict, the thirty days' term should run from October 28. On November 28, accordingly, the fiscal demanded that he should be treated as *rebelde* or contumacious, and that ten days, as usual, should be given to him to appear in person. The three terms of ten days each with two days additional were scrupulously observed. Then further delay followed and it was not until February 7, 1811, that the formal trial began with the presentation of the accusation by the fiscal. This was in the ordinary form, reciting that Hidalgo was a Christian, baptized and confirmed, and as such enjoying the privileges and exemptions accorded to good Catholics, "yet had he left the bosom of the Holy Church for the filthy, impure and abominable faith of the heretical Gnostics, Sergius, Berengar, Cerinthus, Carpocrates, Nestorius, Marcion, Socinus, the Ebionites, Lutherans, Calvinists and other pestilent writers, Deists, Materialists and Atheists, whose works he had read and endeavored to revive and persuade his sect to adopt their errors and heresies, believing wrongly, like them, as to various articles and dogmas of our holy religion, and revolutionizing the whole bishoprics of Valladolid and Guadalajara and great part of the archdiocese of Mexico, being, moreover, the chief cause of the great abominations and sins which have been and still are committed. All this and more which I shall set forth constitute him a formal heretic, apostate from our holy faith, an atheist, materialist and deist, a libertine, seditious, schismatic, Judaizer, Lutheran and Calvinist, guilty of divine and human high treason, a blasphemer, an implacable enemy of Christianity and the state, a wicked seducer, lascivious, a hypocrite, a cunning traitor to king and country, pertinacious, contumacious and rebellious to the Holy Office, of all of which I accuse him in general and in particular." The fiscal then proceeds to recite the evidence taken since 1800, together with a long statement of the culprit's share in the insurrection, winding up by asking that without requiring further proof he shall be condemned to confiscation and relaxation (the euphemistic term for burning) in person, if he can be had, and if not then in effigy, or if the evidence be insufficient, that he be tortured if his person can be had.

The inquisitors received the accusation and gravely ordered a copy to be given to Hidalgo, according to routine; then, in view of his contumacious absence, due notification was made in the halls and proper record was taken of it. After the usual interval of ten days and two days, on February 19, the fiscal accused the contumacy of the absent and fugitive Hidalgo in not answering the accusation and asked that the case be concluded and received to proof.

The inquisitors assented and the proof was presented. Then another interval occurred, until May 20, when the fiscal called for the publication of witnesses, which was duly ordered to be made with the ordinary suppression of their names. Of this publication a large portion consisted of evidence taken during the insurrection, showing acts of sacrilege, contempt for the Inquisition and its edicts and the like, on the part of Hidalgo and his followers. It was ordered that a copy of this be given to him and that he answer it in the next audience, of which announcement was made in the halls and duly recorded. It was not until June 14 that the next step was taken in ordering that a copy of both accusation and publication be given to him and that by the third day he put in his answer with the assent of his advocate—an advocate being appointed for him in the person of the licenciado José María Rosas. Then another witness was found in the priest García de Carrasqueda, a prisoner on trial, to whom allusion has been made above. His evidence was taken, June 21, and on the 27th was submitted to *calificadores* who, on August 12, presented a long and learnedly argumentative report, in which they characterized the several propositions attributed to Hidalgo with the customary selection of objurgatory epithets as *falsa, impia, temeraria, injuriosa, proxima á error, escandalosa, ofensiva de piadosos oídos, blasfema, malsonante, sapiens haeresim, llena de escandalo, erronea, sapiens errorem Lutheranorum, Judaica y formalmente herética, injuriosa al espíritu de la S. M. Iglesia*, and they concluded that if he who uttered them did so with full knowledge of their import, he was a formal heretic.

This was practically the last act of the long-drawn-out comedy, although some additional testimony concerning Hidalgo was taken, February 10 and 20, 1812, in the trial of that habitual liar Fray Manuel Estrada, who had fallen into the clutches of the Holy Office. Events had moved faster than the Inquisition. On March 21, 1811, Hidalgo had been captured at Bajan, whence he was carried two hundred leagues further off to Chihuahua, where he was executed July 31, while the *calificadores* were still busy in formulating his heresies. No notice of this was given to the Inquisition, which was treated with singular discourtesy, savoring of contempt. The explanation of this probably is that if the Holy Office had been apprised of the capture it could rightly have claimed the prisoner as a heretic primarily subject to its supreme and exclusive jurisdiction; there might have been danger in escorting him back through the recently disturbed provinces; the processes of the Inquisition were notoriously slow and after it had tried the culprit and penanced him in an *auto* he would still have to be condemned by a

military court. It was in every way more politic to despatch him in far-off Chihuahua, and the local military and ecclesiastical authorities co-operated to this result, leaving the Inquisition to find out what it could and not even forwarding a supplication which Hidalgo had addressed to it on June 10.

The Holy Office waited patiently for eleven months after the catastrophe and then, on June 25, 1812, it wrote with much solemnity to its two commissioners in Chihuahua, reminding them that the edict of October 10, 1810, rendered it their duty to keep the tribunal advised of the capture of Hidalgo and of all subsequent occurrences. They should have gone to him in prison and exhorted him to make a declaration on all points connected with the edict and whatever else weighed upon his conscience. All signs of repentance should have been observed and reported, and at least his confession to his judges, in so far as the Inquisition was concerned, should have been sent to it. The *alcaide*, the ecclesiastics and the military officers must now be examined as to his state of mind during his imprisonment, so that the tribunal may know about his repentance or impenitence and be enabled to render justice. The two commissioners are to work in harmony, with power of sub-delegation, and they are made responsible, before God and the King, for the discharge of their duty.

The Holy Office evidently took itself seriously and held that the judgment as to Hidalgo's heresies still lay in its hands. There must have been a flush of indignation and wounded pride when, on January 2, 1813, the inquisitors received an answer from Sanchez Alvarez, one of the commissioners, dated October 27, 1812, reporting that he had applied to Nemesio Salcedo, the commandant-general, who had ordered him to suspend all action and that he, Salcedo, would explain the absolute necessity of this. The tribunal had to wait till February 27th before it received Salcedo's explanation, dated October 22, showing how its supreme jurisdiction in matters of heresy had been overslaughed with as little ceremony as that of a pie-powder court. With profuse expressions of respect Salcedo stated that the peace and prosperity of the provinces required that the matter should not be agitated. Hidalgo was not a heretic and would not have been permitted to receive the sacraments and ecclesiastical burial had he not been duly absolved and reconciled to the Church. A royal order, he said, of May 12, 1810,¹ had conveyed papal inquisitorial faculties to the bishops and the Bishop of Durango had subdelegated the doctrinal canon of his

¹ In weighing the truthfulness of this statement it is to be borne in mind that at this date both Ferdinand VII. and Pius VII. were prisoners of Napoleon.

church, Doctor Francisco Fernandez Valentin, thus constituting him a papal inquisitor. As such, to him were communicated the answers of Hidalgo on his trial, who ratified them in his presence; he also verified the manifesto of Hidalgo, which was published, and he absolved him. He also saw the supplication of Hidalgo to the Inquisition, which would have been forwarded sooner, but for the risk of its being intercepted. It was now enclosed, together with the other necessary papers. Accompanying this letter were extracts from Hidalgo's examinations, his manifesto to the insurgents and supplication to the Inquisition.

It was somewhat brutal to have kept the tribunal so long in the dark, on a matter concerning its highest privilege, and to have detained, for sixteen months, on a frivolous pretext, a supplication addressed directly to it; but its position was precarious and it did not dare to complain. In Spain Napoleon had abolished the Inquisition, in so far as he could, in 1808, and in the national Córtes of Cadiz a discussion was then on foot which, on February 12, 1813, reached a similar result. The news of this, however, had not yet reached Mexico when the tribunal on March 13th took action on these papers. It evidently placed no faith in the story of a papal inquisitor suddenly created in the wilds of Chihuahua, for it wholly ignored his action. The fiscal reported to the tribunal that in spite of Hidalgo's supplication for pardon and endeavors to satisfy the charges against him, there were not merits enough to absolve his memory and fame nor, at the same time, to condemn him, as it appeared that he had made a general confession and had been reconciled. Thereupon the tribunal ordered the papers to be filed in the proper place and the case to be suspended—an expression of dissatisfaction and a confession of powerlessness. On March 29th, it acknowledged Salcedo's letter and drily thanked him.

Hidalgo's supplication to the Inquisition, dated from his prison, June 10, 1811, is a long and dignified declaration of submission, calmly and clearly reasoned and manifesting complete command of his theological learning. But for his confinement, he said, he would hasten to throw himself at the feet of the tribunal, not only to seek pardon for his insubordination but to vindicate himself from the charge of heresy and apostasy which was insufferable to him. He answered the various accusations of the edict, denying that he had led an immoral life and exculpating himself with much dexterity from the heresies imputed to him; but if, he added, the Inquisition deemed his utterances heretical, though he had not hitherto so considered them, he now retracted, abjured and detested them. He concluded by begging to be relieved from the disgrace of heresy

and apostasy ; the tribunal could repose entire faith in his statements for, if he had committed those crimes, the position in which he now found himself would impel him to confess them freely in order to gain the pardon and absolution that would open to him the gates of heaven and would close them if withheld through his denial.¹ It is evident that when writing this appeal he had no knowledge of a papal inquisitor close at hand empowered to remove the excommunication, which could be done only by the authority which had imposed it.

The frame of mind revealed in this document, which is unquestionably genuine, serves to refute the imputation of forgery so generally ascribed to Hidalgo's manifesto of May 18, addressed "A Todo el Mundo" and published in order to quiet the population. Its effusiveness and extravagance of repentance and the earnestness of its exhortation to his followers to submit have not unnaturally created suspicion from their violent contrast to the deep convictions and reckless energy with which he precipitated and sustained the insurrection, but it can be accepted as authentic without questioning his good faith. He was impulsive and enthusiastic and liable to the revulsions incident to his temperament. His cause had been disowned by God ; he had been captured as a fugitive within a few months after he had been at the head of eighty thousand men. The grave was yawning for him as the portal to the hereafter in which there was, in his belief, no escape from eternal torment for one who had died as a rebel to the Church. He was a fervent Catholic whose excommunication cut him off from the sacraments essential to salvation unless he could prove himself worthy of them by earnest repentance and by the amendment which could be manifested only through zeal in undoing that which had brought upon him the anathema. That under such pressure he should seek to avert the endless doom by heart-felt contrition was natural, however strange it may seem to those brought up in a different faith, who can sympathize with his aspirations for liberty but cannot realize the ties which enchained him to his religious convictions.

Although the extinction of the Inquisition by the decree of the *córtes* of Cadiz was operative in Mexico for but little more than a

¹ A V. S. reverentemente suplico reciba esta mi solicitud, haga de ella el uso que sea de su superior beneplacito, concediendome el honor que sera para mi mui apreccable de borrarne la nota de herege y apostata de nuestra santa religion, creyendo sin temor alguno cuanto he espuesto a V. S. pues las circunstancias en que me hallo me harian confesar ingenuamente esas crímenes si los habia cometido, para alcanzar el perdon y absoluciones que debean franquearme las puertas del cielo y que me les cerrarian si por negarlos no se me dieran.

year, when the tribunal resumed its functions in January, 1815, it had naturally been weakened by the suspension. But one inquisitor, Manuel de Flores, had stuck to his post, and he endeavored to demonstrate his political usefulness by an edict of July 8, 1815, condemning and prohibiting various proclamations of the insurgents, including their constitution of November 22, 1814, which was largely modelled on that of Cadiz in 1812.

The capture, November 5, 1815, of the insurgent chief Morelos afforded Flores an opportunity, of which he eagerly availed himself, of bringing his discredited tribunal prominently into public notice. José María Morelos shares with Hidalgo the foremost place in the Mexican Valhalla. Born in 1764 of humble parents, he was an agricultural laborer from the age of fourteen to that of twenty-five, when he returned to his native Valladolid and applied himself to the study of grammar, philosophy and morals. Entering the Church, he took full orders and after serving temporarily the cure of Choromuco he obtained that of Caraguaro, which was under the rectorship of Hidalgo. It must have been a slender benefice, for on his trial he explained his not having the indulgence of the Santa Cruzada by the plea that before the insurrection he was too poor to pay for it, and afterward the insurgents regarded it as merely a device for raising money to carry on the war against them. His morals were those of his class: he admitted having three children, born of different mothers during his priesthood, but he added that his habits, although not edifying, had not been scandalous, and the tribunal seemed to think so, for little attention was paid to this during his trial and in the *calificación* which preceded his sentence it is not even alluded to. He joined Hidalgo, October 28, 1810, and must have quickly distinguished himself, for that chief gave him a commission to raise the Pacific coast provinces and after his death the burden of maintaining the unequal contest fell mainly on Morelos, who was raised successively to the grades of lieutenant-governor and captain-general with the official title of Most Serene Highness.

Unlike Hidalgo, who was hurried off to Chihuahua, Morelos was brought to the city of Mexico for trial and execution, arriving there on November 21. He was carried to the Inquisition, not as its prisoner but "on deposit," and Flores, to preserve the secrecy of the Holy Office, stipulated that the guard accompanying him should not go up stairs or penetrate beyond the first court-yard, and it was not until 1:30 A. M. of the 22nd that he was immured in the secret prisons, in a cell so dark that he could not read the breviary which was given him on his request. The 22nd was occu-

pied with an effort to obtain permission to try him—a *competencia*, or struggle for jurisdiction, carried on in a very different spirit from the masterful audacity which aforetime in these frequent contests had enabled the Inquisition to triumph over the royal and spiritual courts. The viceroy Calleja desired that Morelos should be degraded from the priesthood within three days by the episcopal jurisdiction in order that his execution should be prompt, and testimony for that purpose was already being taken by the secular and spiritual courts acting in unison. Flores, therefore, had no time to lose in putting forward the claim of his tribunal, and the fiscal drew up an elaborate paper showing that there were points in the case which came within its jurisdiction. On the 23d a *consulta* was assembled consisting of the episcopal Ordinary of Valladolid and the *consultores* of the Inquisition, which represented to the viceroy that, although Morelos was subject to both the secular and spiritual courts, they were persuaded that for other crimes he was justiciable by the Inquisition and that his trial by that tribunal would redound to the honor and glory of God as well as to the service of the King and the state and be efficacious in undeceiving the rebels. Moreover, it promised that the trial should be concluded within four days. Somewhat unwillingly Calleja granted the request and no time was lost in commencing the most expeditious trial in the annals of the Holy Office—a grim comedy to gratify the vanity of the actors, for it could have no influence on the fate of the prisoner save in so far as the Inquisition alone could absolve him from its excommunications under which he inferentially lay. Flores, in boasting of the activity displayed, adds that they were much embarrassed by Morelos being frequently taken from them for examination in the other courts, which proves that the authorities regarded the Inquisition as merely a side-show.

Hurried as were the proceedings all the formalities required by the cumbrous methods of the Holy Office were duly observed. That same day, November 23, the fiscal presented his *clamosa*, basing it on Morelos having signed the constitutional decree of November 22, 1814, as well as various proclamations condemned as heretical by the Inquisition; also on his celebrating mass when under excommunication and his reply to the Bishop of Puebla, when reproached for so doing, that it would be easier to get a dispensation after the war than to survive the guillotine; also an edict of the Bishop of Valladolid, July 22, 1814, declaring him to be an excommunicated heretic. There was still time for a morning audience and the prisoner was brought before the tribunal where he was subjected to the customary examination as to his genealogy and whole

career and the first monition was given adjuring him for the love of God and the Virgin to save his soul by confessing the truth. In the afternoon he had his second audience and second monition. On the morning of the 24th the third monition was given in the third audience, in which he admitted that at Teypan he had captured a package of the edicts against Hidalgo and had used them to make cartridges. The pompous formulas urging him to discharge his conscience in order that the Inquisition might show him its customary mercy must have seemed a ghastly jest to a man who knew that his captors would speedily shoot him, and they contrast somewhat ludicrously with the feverish anxiety of the inquisitor to have a hand in the performance.

That same afternoon the fiscal presented the accusation and, considering the brief time allowed for its preparation, its long accumulation of rhetoric is creditable to the industry of the draughtsman. He describes Morelos as abandoning the Church for the filthy and abominable heresies of Hobbes, Helvetius, Voltaire, Luther and other pestilent writers, rendering him a formal heretic, an apostate from the holy faith, an atheist, materialist, deist, libertine, seditious, guilty of divine and human high treason, an implacable enemy of Christianity and the state, a vile seducer, a hypocrite, a traitor to king and country, cunning, lascivious, pertinacious and rebellious to the Holy Office. He shows how rebellion is heresy and all rebellious acts are directly or indirectly heretical. To Morelos, in the bottom of his heart, Christ and Belial are equal and he is even suspect of toleration. As usual, the accusation concludes by asking for confiscation and relaxation. The remainder of the afternoon and the morning audience of the 25th were occupied with the defendant's answers to the twenty-four articles of the accusation. From what he said it appears that the insurgents claimed to be opposing the French domination in Spain, and that Ferdinand's restoration in 1814 was largely disbelieved or was assumed to be only another phase of Napoleon's supremacy, showing that Ferdinand could not be a sincere Catholic.

That same morning the publication of witnesses was made, consisting wholly of documents, such as the constitution of October 22, 1814, sundry proclamations signed by Morelos and his printed letter to the Bishop of Puebla together with the letter of the Bishop of Valladolid declaring him to be an excommunicated heretic. This was the whole case against him, but it was sufficient. He was ordered to answer with the advice of his counsel and the three advocates of prisoners were named to him, of whom he selected Don José María Gutierrez de Rosas—apparently the same one who had

appeared for Hidalgo. He was sent to his cell to be brought back directly afterwards for an interview with his counsel, who was sworn in as was customary. There was no time to make copies of the papers, so the unusual course was adopted of entrusting the originals to Rosas with instructions to return them and present the defence within three hours. In the afternoon he did so, and in view of the haste required of him he must have been a ready writer, but he was more occupied in defending himself for undertaking the case than in making a plea for his client. He savagely denounced the insurrection and the *córtes* of Cadiz whose principles it represented, and he concluded abruptly with a few lines alleging the repentance of Morelos from which he hoped for absolution. The inquisitor thereupon ordered the fiscal to be notified and the case to be definitely concluded.

The next morning, November 26, Flores assembled his *calificadores* and exhibited to them the proceedings and the condemnations of the insurgent constitution and proclamations. One of the assistants, Fray Domingo Barreda, opined that the accused savored of heresy, but the rest unanimously agreed that he was a formal heretic who denied his guilt and was not only suspect of atheism but an atheist outright. In the afternoon was held the *consulta de fe* to decide his sentence. Without a dissenting voice it agreed that a public *auto de fe* should be held in the audience-chamber the next morning at eight o'clock, in presence of the officials of the Inquisition and of a hundred prominent persons to be designated by Flores; that Morelos should then be declared guilty of malicious and pertinacious imperfect confession, a formal heretic who denied his guilt, a disturber and persecutor of the hierarchy and a profaner of the sacraments; that he was guilty of high treason human and divine, pontifical and royal, and that he be present at the mass in the guise of a penitent, in short cassock without collar or girdle and holding a green candle which, as a heretic and fautor of heretics, he should offer to the priest. As a cruel persecutor of the Holy Office his property should be confiscated to the King. Although deserving of degradation and relaxation for the crimes subject to the Inquisition, yet, as he was ready to abjure, he was, in the unlikely case of the viceroy sparing his life, condemned to perpetual banishment from America and from all royal residences and to imprisonment for life in one of the African presidios, with deprivation of all ecclesiastical benefices and perpetual irregularity. His three children were declared subject to infamy and to the legal disabilities imposed on the descendants of heretics. He was to abjure formally and be absolved from the excommunications reserved to the Holy

Office, he was to make a general confession and through life to recite the seven penitential psalms on Fridays and a part of the rosary on Saturdays. Moreover, a tablet, inscribed with his name and offences, suspended in the cathedral, was to carry to posterity the memory of his misdeeds.

This prostitution of religion in the service of politics was carried out to the end. The next morning, November 27, as Flores reports, the *auto* was duly celebrated in the most imposing scene ever witnessed in the audience-chamber, which was crowded with five hundred of the most important personages of the capital. The mass was followed by the terrible ceremony of degradation from the priesthood, performed by the Bishop of Oaxaca; Morelos was delivered to the royal judge and returned to the secret prisons, whence, at 1:30 A. M. of the following night, he was transferred to the citadel. Flores might proudly claim to have vindicated the jurisdiction of the Holy Office, though at some sacrifice of its dignity, in the shortest trial of a formal heretic to be found in its records, but the object of the indecent haste required by Calleja is not apparent, for Morelos was not executed until December 22.

This trial may be said to mark the close of the active career of the Mexican Inquisition, for although it was not abolished until 1820, and although it continued to molest and persecute aspirants for liberty, there is no trace of its having subsequently celebrated an *auto de fe*.

HENRY CHARLES LEA.

JOHN BELL OF TENNESSEE

A CHAPTER OF POLITICAL HISTORY

A TENNESSEE lawyer wittily says that Tennessee "broke into the Union." The "Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio" was established by an act of Congress passed May 26, 1790. By this act the newly created territory, which geographically was almost identical with the present state of Tennessee, was to be governed in all respects as the Northwest Territory, except that slavery was to be permitted. This last had been provided for in the act of cession, by which North Carolina had conveyed the greater part of the territory to the United States.

The new territory was entitled to become a state whenever the population should amount to 60,000. The census properly should have been ordered by Congress and taken under Federal supervision, but the legislature of the territory, in ignorance or in disregard of this fact, passed an act July 11, 1795, for the enumeration of the people. The population was found to exceed seventy-seven thousand. Thereupon a convention was called, and met at Knoxville, January 11, 1796. By the sixth of February it had completed its labors, having reproduced, with certain democratic changes, the constitution of North Carolina of 1776. Mr. Jefferson said of this Tennessee constitution, "that it was the least imperfect and the most republican" of the state constitutions.

The new applicant for statehood did not waste time, but in March, 1796, assembled its first legislature, and prematurely elected two senators. On the 8th of April the constitution was presented to Congress. After some debate the House of Representatives passed a bill admitting Tennessee into the Union, but in the Senate the most serious opposition was encountered. The active championship of Aaron Burr was one of the principal means of securing the passage of the bill. The Federalists opposed it as a measure in aid of Mr. Jefferson's ambition to become President. The bill was approved by the President on the first day of June, 1796.

It thus appears that the Federalist leaders regarded Tennessee as certain to become a Republican state. In this they were right, and their course in opposing her admission to the Union had the

effect of confirming her Republicanism. The people were indignant on account of the opposition, and for many years no public man in Tennessee dared to admit that he entertained Federalist principles. It was not until 1823 that there was a sign of revolt from the Democratic-Republican party in the state, and even then the demonstration was not serious, and for twelve years later there was no real party division in Tennessee. The Whig party had its birth in Tennessee in the year 1835, although four years elapsed before the name was openly adopted.

In 1823 John Williams,¹ who was United States senator from Tennessee, sought re-election. He had been a colonel in the regular army, and had led his regiment with conspicuous valor in the battle of the Horse-shoe. As a senator, his services had been acceptable and everything indicated his re-election. But Andrew Jackson was a candidate for the presidency and his supporters demanded pledges from Williams, who declined to give them and avowed his preference for a rival candidate. The Jackson men, failing to find any other candidate who could defeat him, brought forward their distinguished leader, and elected him, but not without vigorous opposition. Among the members of the legislature who voted for Williams against Jackson was David Crockett. In 1825 and again in 1833, Crockett was elected to Congress. During both terms he was outspoken in opposition to Jackson, and in the last one declared himself a Whig, being probably the first man of note in the state to assume the name openly. From the year 1815 till his death, Andrew Jackson was the foremost man in Tennessee. Failing of election to the presidency in 1824 he was elected in 1828, securing the support of New York, through the political skill and the energy of Martin Van Buren. Next to Jackson in distinction and popularity among the public men of Tennessee at this period was Hugh Lawson White, a man of great ability, of unsullied purity, and much force of character. He had been for years Jackson's intimate friend and his wisest and most capable adviser. About the beginning of Jackson's second term, White began to be spoken of as a probable successor. Jackson had determined that Van Buren should succeed him, and left nothing undone to secure that end. White was offered the most honorable offices in order to prevent his candidacy for the presidency, but declined them all. Finally Jackson, according to his custom, yielded to his temper and declared that if White became a candidate he would be made odious to society. In December, 1834, a majority of the Tennessee delegation in Congress joined in a letter to White asking him to declare himself a candidate. Justly incensed

¹ John Williams was a great-grandfather of Naval Constructor Richmond P. Hobson.

against Jackson, he instantly consented, and among his supporters at this time was John Bell, who was destined to be the leader of the Whig party, in Tennessee, throughout its existence.

These preliminary statements are necessary to a clear understanding of Bell's career. He was a native of Tennessee, and was born near Nashville, February 15, 1797. His father, Samuel Bell, was one of the pioneers of Tennessee. His mother, whose maiden name was Margaret Edmiston, was a native of Virginia, descended from a worthy Scotch-Irish ancestry. Her father, Samuel Edmiston, was with Shelby at the battle of King's Mountain, and the musket which he carried on that memorable day is preserved in the rooms of the Tennessee Historical Society at Nashville.

John Bell was educated at the University of Nashville, graduating in 1814. Three years later, when he had barely attained his majority, he was elected to the state senate. Realizing promptly, however, that he had made a mistake in entering politics so early in life, he declined a re-election, and removing to Nashville, devoted the next ten years to the study and the practice of law, and to careful general reading. The bar of Nashville was a strong one, but Bell rose rapidly, and the most competent judges declare that he was exceptionally qualified for the profession. The cast of his mind was philosophic and judicial, but he preferred the large affairs of state to the incessant contests and the drudgery of the law. That he looked forward, from the first, to a career in public life, is not to be doubted.

In 1827, he believed that the time had arrived when he might enter with safety upon this career. The Nashville district contained many strong men, but, with the exception of Andrew Jackson, none better known or more popular, at that time, than Felix Grundy. In Kentucky, where he had been reared, Grundy had been chief-justice of the highest court of that state. In the legislature of Kentucky he had shown himself no unworthy rival of Henry Clay as an orator and as a debater. In Tennessee, whither he moved in 1807, he had been elected to Congress with practical unanimity in 1811, and re-elected in 1813, but had resigned. While in Congress he had exerted an unsurpassed influence. He had been one of the most vigorous advocates of the War of 1812, and the Federalists were fond of attributing that war to the firm of "Madison, Grundy and the Devil."

In 1827, Mr. Grundy again sought to represent the Nashville district in Congress. Andrew Jackson was his outspoken and active supporter, and at that time the influence of Jackson in Tennessee was believed to be irresistible. It caused the most profound

astonishment therefore, when Grundy, the man next to Jackson in popular fame and admiration, in the district, was defeated by John Bell, then a comparatively unknown man ; and the new congressman continued for fourteen years to represent the Nashville district.

At first there was no open breach between him and Jackson, but Bell never forgot the contest of 1827, and Jackson's course at that time was destined to influence profoundly the later political history of the state and of the Union. It was the beginning of the estrangement of the two men who played the most important parts in public life in Tennessee, during the three decades preceding the Civil War. Despite the fact that Mr. Bell's temperament and habits of mind were in a measure unsuited to the noisy and sometimes tempestuous proceedings of the House of Representatives, he speedily rose to a position of leadership. Among the Tennesseans he was easily the most accomplished and effective debater. He was not a frequent speaker, but when he arose was heard always with respect and attention. He had many of the physical gifts and graces of the orator, together with an exceptional command of language, and was a clear, logical and persuasive reasoner.

Twice he seemed on the brink of a broader career ; but was both times disappointed. In 1834 he was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives, but in 1835 was defeated for that office by James K. Polk of his own state. In 1841 he entered President Harrison's cabinet as Secretary of War, but resigned after the death of the President and the political defection of his successor. He might at this time, or at least in 1843, have been elected to the Senate, but preferred for the time to remain in private life.

Meanwhile events of great importance to him and to the country led, or rather drove him, to a radical change of position. In every Congressional election, after 1827, the friends of Jackson had manifested a bitter opposition to Bell, but all their efforts to defeat him had been futile. The estrangement between Jackson and Bell, begun in 1827, was more and more confirmed every year by this persistent antagonizing of Bell by the President's friends.

As early as 1831, Jackson's determination to make Van Buren his successor was becoming widely known, though Tennessee and other states preferred White, and Crockett, again in Congress, was bold in opposing Jackson. The seeds sown in the fight against Williams in 1823 were bearing fruit ; and in 1835 the time was ripe for political revolution in Tennessee. White's candidacy for the presidency was a declaration of independence and also a declaration of war. Tennessee was strongly for White and profoundly distrustful of Van Buren. Bell became the leader of the White forces

in that state, not so much because he loved White, although he held him in great esteem, as because he knew that his own political life and the political future of the state were involved in the struggle.

Up to this time Bell had never placed himself distinctly in opposition to Jackson, or to his party. It is true that he had disapproved the removal of the bank deposits, but he had supported Jackson in the nullification troubles, and had been in accord with the administration upon the subject of the tariff. Even in 1835 he was not ready to leave the Democratic-Republican party, or to admit that the differences between the President and himself were more than personal. Upon the contrary he declared that the friends of White would adhere to Jackson, but from a desire to be consistent, and out of respect for their own characters and in support of their own principles. But events were irresistible; no sooner had White become a candidate, than a furious factional war began. The *Globe*, the Jackson organ at Washington, declared that White was being used by Bell to break down the administration. The President declared that Bell must not be returned to Congress; but no one could be found to run against him, and he was re-elected. The press of the state favored White, and therefore one Jeremiah George Harris, a native of New England, a trained writer, with a gift of satire and vituperation, devoted to Jackson and Van Buren and versed in political methods, was brought to Tennessee and placed in charge of a newspaper to ridicule and abuse Bell and White. In 1835, White was returned to the Senate. In the state election of that year, the White candidate for governor was elected, and everything indicated that the state would go for White in the Federal election.

Jackson, as usual, fought with all his strength, willingly enduring the hardships of the long journey from Washington to Tennessee in order to engage in personal advocacy of his candidate, maintaining, however, that the issue was solely between White and himself. But his efforts were of no avail. White carried the state and even secured a majority in the Hermitage precinct. Jackson and his supporters in this campaign denounced Bell and White and their friends as Whigs, as "new Whigs," and by this last opprobrious name they were long known. The reluctance with which men admit a change of political position was never more strikingly shown than in Tennessee at this period. The proscriptions of the Jacksonians had alienated many prominent men and caused much discontent among the people; in Tennessee, as elsewhere, there were differences of opinion upon public questions, but the sentiment existing before Tennessee became a state and confirmed by the opposi-

tion to her admission, had up to this time been too strong to be resisted, and the leaders of the dominant party had been men of extraordinary ability and force.

It was not until 1839 that the opponents of Jackson reached the point where they were willing to call themselves Whigs. White refused to the last to adopt the name, but called himself an independent. Newton Cannon, a candidate for governor in 1839, was the first avowed Whig candidate for that office in Tennessee. But the strength of the Whigs, or of the opponents of Jackson, in the state is shown by the fact that in 1840 Harrison carried Tennessee by a majority of 12,000 votes in a total of a little over 100,000. In 1841 and again in 1843, James C. Jones, the Whig candidate for governor, defeated so conspicuous and important a Democrat as James K. Polk.

In 1844, Mr. Polk, although elected President, was unable to carry his own state, and in 1848 and in 1852, the Whig candidates received the electoral vote of Tennessee. In every presidential election from 1796 to 1832, inclusive, Tennessee gave her vote to the Democratic-Republican candidate. In 1824 John Quincy Adams received only 216 votes in the state, and in 1828 only 2,240. In 1832 Mr. Clay's vote was 1,436 and Jackson's 28,740. These figures compared with the vote in 1836 show, first, the strength of the Democratic party, and the utter want of opposition to it, and, second, that there was a large stay-at-home vote in the state which must have been in some measure disaffected. For in 1836 Van Buren received 26,120 votes, only 2,000 less than had been cast for Jackson four years before, while the aggregate opposition vote was almost 36,000. Making the largest allowance for the increase of population in the interval between the two elections, it is still certain that almost half the voters had been neglecting to vote, and that many of them were not Democrats, or at least not Jacksonians in sentiment. Crockett, Williams, White and Bell led the way to overthrow of the Democrats. Crockett was unable to return to Congress after 1835, Williams died in 1837, and White in 1840, and Bell became, as he was entitled to be, the leader of the Whig party in Tennessee, and held that position without dispute until the dissolution of the party. Thus the first manifestation of serious opposition to Jackson in Tennessee was in 1835; the first contest in which the party name Whig was openly adopted was in 1839, and the last distinctively Whig victory in 1852. The election of 1860 will be considered later.

Tennessee, the second in age among the southwestern states, was from 1825 to 1860 the first in political importance and

influence, by reason of her population and wealth, by reason of the ability of her public men, and not a little because Andrew Jackson was a citizen of the state. It was in the early part of this period that the West asserted itself, and that the new Democratic influences which wrested the government permanently from the Federalists made themselves felt. Speaking of this time, Woodrow Wilson says: "The inauguration of Jackson brought a new class of men into leadership, and marks the beginning, for good or for ill, of a distinctively American order of politics, begotten of the crude forces of a new nationality. A change of political weather, long preparing, had set in. The new generation which asserted itself in Jackson was not in the least regardful of conservative traditions." In Kentucky the influence of Mr. Clay, always opposed to Jackson, and always conservative, gave a different direction to opinion and conduct.

From 1815 to 1835 the political vocabulary of Tennessee was comprised in the one word Jackson. Admiration and fear alike contributed to Jackson's influence, and never was a public man more ardently or ably supported. Among his lieutenants were John Overton, John Catron, John H. Eaton, Aaron V. Brown, Cave Johnson, Felix Grundy, Hugh L. White and James K. Polk, all men of large ability and in the front rank of Southern leaders. The party thus led was long invincible, and its defeat came at last from over-confidence, and the illiberal and proscriptive policy of its imperative chief. But its overthrow was not easily accomplished. The first serious resistance was made within three years of the time when it had carried the state with practical unanimity. Jackson, the hardest of fighters, was still its leader, and was animated, not only by his native determination and by political prejudices and pride, but also by a bitter personal dislike of the leaders of the opposition. After the defeats of 1835 and 1836, the contest lost nothing of its bitterness. In 1839 the Democrats elected Polk governor and regained control of the legislature. Hugh L. White and Ephraim H. Foster were the senators at the time, and the Jackson leaders determined, if possible, to force them to resign. The opportunity came speedily. Both senators were known to be opposed to the sub-treasury, and both were known to believe that the legislature had the right to instruct senators in Federal affairs. Resolutions were therefore adopted at Nashville, November 8, 1839, instructing White and Foster to vote among other things for the sub-treasury bill. The scheme succeeded. In 1841 the Whigs had a majority, on joint ballot, in the legislature, but the senate being Democratic by one majority, the Democrats in that body, led by

Andrew Johnson, prevented a quorum, with the result that from 1841 to 1843 Tennessee had no senators in Congress. In 1843 the Whigs elected both senators ; in 1845 the Democrats succeeded in displacing one of these. In 1847 Mr. Bell was elected and at the close of the term was re-elected, thus serving continuously for twelve years.

No other man in Tennessee, hardly any man in the South, was so well qualified by nature and by training for the duties of senator. Intellectually he was inferior probably to Webster and Calhoun, but to no other men who were in public life in 1847. His mind was large and thoroughly balanced, his temperament was equable and philosophic ; he had been a diligent student of the philosophy and history of government, of the law, and of general literature ; he was a speaker of rare powers, a graceful and effective rhetorician, and a clear and discriminating thinker. Above all he was an honest man of blameless life, and a sincere patriot.

His time of service in the Senate was one of strife and of incessant commotion and change in the political world. Patriotic expedients had long postponed issue in Congress upon the slavery question, but now conditions imperatively demanded its consideration. Mr. Clay, still devoted to compromise, in 1850 secured the submission of the pending questions of sectional difference to a committee of thirteen selected from both parties, and Bell served with him on this committee.

A bill for the organization of Nebraska was introduced in the session of 1852-1853, but was not disposed of until the following year ; to the measure, Bell was strongly opposed, mainly because of the injustice to the Indians that would result from its adoption. In 1854 came the proposition to repeal the Missouri Compromise. The South, upon firm constitutional grounds, but with deplorably mistaken policy, favored the repeal, and Mr. Bell's vote against it provoked anger and widespread criticism in Tennessee. The repeal of the Compromise proved to be in the highest degree prejudicial to the South. When the Lecompton Constitution for Kansas came before Congress, Bell did not hesitate, in advance of its consideration, to declare himself opposed to it. Thereupon the legislature of Tennessee instructed him to vote for it. He declined, however, to be instructed, and voted against the so-called constitution, thereby again incurring the severest censure. But he was right and had the courage to stand to his convictions. In 1859 he retired from the Senate. For seven years he had been practically a man without a party. In 1851, the Whigs had been still strong enough to carry Tennessee for Scott, but it was a barren victory. The Whigs carried only four

states, and the party received its death-blow. Bell was returned to the Senate, and thenceforth he and Crittenden of Kentucky represented the Southern Whigs in that body. They were not only the last of the Whig leaders, but the last of the great men of their generation in the Senate.

Bell returned to Tennessee at a time of great uncertainty and anxiety. The political sky was angry and full of threatenings, and forebodings of evil oppressed every patriot heart. Bell loved the Union with a surpassing love, and his every sentiment and every conviction opposed the doctrine and the policy of secession. It is too soon, now, to say that the conduct of many Northern leaders, especially of the more strenuous advocates of abolition, was extreme, and their demands opposed to the Constitution. But Bell and other Union men of the South believed this to be true. These genuine patriots and Unionists were not more opposed to Southern "fire-eaters," of the Yancey type, than to such Northern "fire-eaters" as Garrison and Phillips. They regarded both factions of extremists as alike responsible for the danger that threatened the Union, and it is at least possible that the impartial history which is yet to be written will not charge the Southern leaders with all the unreasonableness and want of patriotism that provoked the Civil War. Bell was prepared to make any personal or political sacrifice to preserve the Union. Another presidential election was at hand. The long-triumphant Democracy was now discordant. The Charleston Convention marked a fatal disruption of the party, and the existence of two irreconcilable factions forbade all hope of success. The Republican party, though young and not yet firmly established, was hopeful and aggressive. There were many worthy men, especially in the South, who would not follow either faction of the Democracy, and who, at the same time, strongly opposed the Republican policy. A convention of these, representing twenty-two states, met in Baltimore, May 9, 1860, and nominated Bell for President and Edward Everett for Vice-President, as the candidates of the "Constitutional Union Party." Bell's principal competitor for the nomination was Sam Houston, of Texas. With much frankness and justice the convention declared that party platforms were insincere, and meant to deceive, and therefore it promulgated none, but contented itself with the adoption of a simple resolution, declaring in favor of the Union, the Constitution and the enforcement of the laws. In the election, Bell and Everett carried the states of Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia, and received three of the votes of New Jersey.

The six months succeeding the election were full of distress for

Bell and his friends in Tennessee. Isham G. Harris, the governor, a man of great ability and of indomitable will, was now an avowed secessionist. Bell was no less positive in opposition, and at first it seemed that Tennessee would refuse to secede. The vote for Bell and Everett had been 69,274, for Douglas 11,350, for Breckenridge 64,709. Thus the Whigs and the Union Democrats outnumbered the Breckenridge Democrats by fifteen thousand.

On January 7, 1861, the legislature met in special session, and shortly afterward passed a resolution submitting to the people the question of ordering a convention to determine whether or not the state would withdraw from the Union, and also providing for the election of delegates to the convention. The election was held February 8, 1861, and the vote was for the convention, 57,798, against it, 69,675. A better test of public sentiment, however, was the vote for delegates, cast at the same time. The aggregate vote for Union delegates was 88,803, and for disunion delegates 24,749.

This election was accepted as conclusive evidence that Tennessee would not secede, and but for the events of the ensuing spring, she probably would not have seceded. There was no one in the state who was a disunionist for the sake of disunion, not even Governor Harris, but while East Tennessee had but few slaves, Middle and West Tennessee were large slave-holding sections, having interests and sentiments in common with the states that had already seceded.

The attack on Fort Sumter provoked Mr. Lincoln's proclamation of April 15, 1861, calling for volunteers to suppress insurrection, and Governor Harris, when called upon for the state's quota, sent an indignant refusal.

This was the critical time for Bell and his followers, and we shall fail to do justice to the Whig leader without knowledge of his pure character and lofty patriotism; without a genuine sympathy for him personally and a clear perception of conditions in the South at that time. He believed, after the publication of the President's proclamation, that the destruction of the Union was inevitable. He believed, also, that the policy of the administration was unconstitutional and revolutionary. Alexander H. Stephens declares that Mr. Lincoln's proclamations alone caused the Southern Whigs to change position. He says that the Whig leaders of the South regarded these proclamations as the English people regarded the edicts of Charles I. for ship-money.

Three days after the appearance of the proclamation calling for volunteers a number of the most prominent Whigs in Tennessee, led by Mr. Bell, issued an address in which they said, among other things: "Tennessee is called upon by the President to furnish two

regiments, and the state has, through her executive, refused to comply with the call. This refusal of our state we fully approve." A later paragraph contains the following: "Should a purpose be developed by the government of over-running and subjugating our brethren of the seceded states, we say unequivocally that it will be the duty of the state to resist at all hazards, and at any cost, and by force of arms, any such purpose or attempt." The address further calls upon the state to arm and to maintain the position of armed neutrality which many Southern Whigs vainly hoped would enable the conservatives to mediate between the North and the South.

This address having been issued, events speedily dictated the result. The South was threatened with invasion. On the 25th of April the legislature again met in special session. The governor in his message boldly advocated secession and an application for admission into the Southern Confederacy. The ordinance of secession was passed May 6, 1861, affirming not the constitutional right, but the revolutionary right of withdrawal from the Union in the following language: "We, the people of the State of Tennessee, waiving any expression of opinion as to the abstract doctrine of secession, but asserting the right as a free and independent people to alter, reform, or abolish our form of government in such manner as we think proper, do ordain," etc.

On May 7, the state entered into a military league with the Confederacy, and the legislature appropriated \$5,000,000 to equip a provisional army of 55,000 men. When the vote was taken, June 8, it stood for secession 104,913, against secession 47,238, for representation in the Confederate Congress 101,701, against representation 47,364. On the 24th of June the governor issued his proclamation formally dissolving the connection of Tennessee with the United States, and on the 2d of July, President Jefferson Davis declared Tennessee a member of the Southern Confederacy. Mr. Bell went with the state.

In the brief political campaign preceding the June election, his influence was actively exerted in favor of the measure which up to that time he had strenuously opposed. He did not advocate nor approve secession as a political doctrine, but in the spirit of the state ordinance, asserted that conditions required the exercise of the right of revolution. Northern writers have condemned him severely for his course at this time. Mr. Blaine says: "If Mr. Bell had taken firm ground for the Union, the secession movement would have been to a very great extent paralyzed in the South." Comparing Bell with Everett he says: "If Mr. Bell had stood beside

him with equal courage and equal determination, Tennessee would never have seceded and the Rebellion would have been confined to the seven original states. A large share of the responsibility for the dangerous development of the Rebellion must, therefore, be attributed to John Bell and his half-million Southern supporters of the old Whig party. At the critical moment, they signally failed."

These censures are in a large measure unjust, and they demonstrate the want of an accurate knowledge of Mr. Bell's character and opinions, and of political conditions in the South before the war. Bell was a man of extraordinary purity of character and was sincere in every act and utterance of his public life. He rejected the doctrine that the Constitution authorized secession for any cause. He did not believe that any state could of its own motion lawfully separate from the Union, but upon the other hand he held the Southern rather than the Northern view of the limitations of the Federal government over the states, and was sincere in the belief that the conduct of the government in April, 1861, was so gross a violation of the Constitution, as to justify Tennessee in declaring her independence. It is not intended here to offer any argument in support of these opinions, but only to declare, that whether they were right or wrong, Mr. Bell held them in good faith. Therefore, his conduct at this time was not a "signal failure," but an act of conscience, not a manifestation of weakness of character, but of devotion to conviction and to duty, made fearlessly, but with infinite reluctance and distress.

That anything that he could have done would have prevented the secession of Tennessee is not true. The doctrine of states' rights and state loyalty had pervaded the entire South, and many thousands of genuine patriots and sincere lovers of the Union with aching hearts followed their states out of the Union, under the compulsion of an honest sense of duty. But an overwhelming majority of the people of the slaveholding states demanded secession, and carried their point. The sentiment was irresistible. It has been asserted that Governor Harris forced Tennessee out of the Union, while Bell failed in courage and duty at the critical moment. Against the latter accusation it has already been shown that Bell really displayed courage of the highest order. But it is further true that superficial observers have attributed to Bell and to Harris a degree of influence vastly in excess of what either possessed. The great currents of popular sentiment that were sweeping over the South at that time irresistibly carried all men, great and small, one way or the other. Harris did not cause the secession of Tennessee, and

could not have prevented it. If Bell had been a man ten times greater and ten times more influential, he could not have held Tennessee in the Union, after Mr. Lincoln's call for volunteers. That was a task beyond human power. Leaders no longer led. The popular will was supreme. If Bell had not yielded, as he did, to the honest belief that his duty lay with the people of Tennessee, he would have been brushed aside or crushed by this tremendous sentiment. And so if Harris, with all the vigor of his intense and imperious nature, had attempted to stem the tide, he also would have been lost. Both were men of extraordinary force and influence, but the events of the time obscured all persons and all personal influence.

In the war Mr. Bell had no part, and never after 1860 did he attract or seek public attention. He had not been sufficiently in sympathy with secession to win the favor of the South, and at the North much odium was unjustly attached to his name. This country has produced no more sincerely or unselfishly patriotic man, none whose life was more thoroughly squared with conviction. To no American did the war bring deeper grief, and never did opprobrium more unjustly fall upon an honorable and a good man. He died September 18, 1869.

That he was not fitted for times of revolution must be admitted. He was not a man of action, but of thought; a scholar, a philosopher, a scrupulous and cautious, but great statesman. He had almost none of the qualities that made his great antagonist Andrew Jackson a successful popular leader. The scholarly and philosophic cast of his mind, the habit of considering all sides of every question, gave to his conduct sometimes the appearance of indecision. He did not decide quickly, but slowly and carefully, but a conclusion once reached was fearlessly maintained. In later life he perhaps lacked aggressiveness, though this was not true of him in his early days, and especially in his brilliant canvass against Grundy in 1827. He was a leader in the two political struggles which were the most momentous in the history of Tennessee. In the fierce battle against Jackson, he was successful and won the leadership of a great party. In the contest of 1861 he was compelled by a sense of duty to yield, but he retired in honor, and dispassionate history will rank him among the ablest, the purest and the best men our country has produced.

JOSHUA W. CALDWELL.

THE BATTLE OF GETTYSBURG

THE battle of Chancellorsville was fought in the first four days of May, 1863. Hooker, who commanded the Army of the Potomac, met with a terrible defeat at the hands of General Lee, who then gave his army a rest of some weeks. He employed the time in its reorganization, dividing it into three corps, each of three divisions, commanded respectively by Longstreet, Ewell and A. P. Hill. Believing that nothing was to be gained by his army "remaining quietly on the defensive," he decided, with the approval of Davis, on the invasion of Pennsylvania. This movement would at all events, by threatening Washington and drawing Hooker in pursuit of him, relieve Virginia of the presence of a hostile army. But after such victories as Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville he would have been modest past belief had not his expectations gone far beyond so easy an achievement. He hoped to fight the Army of the Potomac on favorable conditions. With his own well-disciplined troops in high spirits and full of confidence in their leader, he could not have entertained an idea that the result would be other than a Confederate victory; perhaps even he might destroy the Union army, when Washington would be at his mercy and he could conquer a peace on Northern soil. Nothing at this time so disturbed the Southern high councils as the operations of Grant against Vicksburg. More than one project was proposed to save it from capture, but no diversion in its favor could be so effectual as the taking of the federal capital. If ever an aggressive movement with so high an object were to be made, now was the time. Not only was it to take advantage of the flush of Confederate success, but the South by delay would lose its efficiency for the offensive. "Our resources in men are constantly diminishing," wrote Lee to Davis, "and the disproportion in this respect between us and our enemies, if they continue united in their efforts to subjugate us, is steadily augmenting." To Lee's ability and decision of character were joined uncommon industry and attention to detail. He was a constant and careful reader of the Northern newspapers, and from the mass of news comment and speculation he drew many correct inferences, and hardly lost sight of any of the conditions which should be taken into account by him who would play well the game of

war. He meditated on the weariness of the contest so largely felt at the North and the growing strength of the Democrats, due in the main to Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville. "We should neglect no honorable means of dividing and weakening our enemies," he wrote to Davis. We should "give all the encouragement we can, consistently with the truth, to the rising peace party of the North. Nor do I think we should, in this connection, make nice distinctions between those who declare for peace unconditionally and those who advocate it as a means of restoring the Union, however much we may prefer the former."

June 3 Lee began to move his army from the vicinity of Fredericksburg, and one week later put Ewell's corps in motion for the Shenandoah valley. Ewell drove the Union troops from Winchester and Martinsburg, and on the 15th part of his corps crossed the Potomac, the rest of it soon following. Hill and Longstreet moved forward, and by June 26 their corps had passed over the river and were in Maryland.

Hooker early suspected Lee's project of invasion, and when the movement commenced thought that he ought to attack the rear of the enemy; this operation he suggested to the President. "I have but one idea which I think worth suggesting to you," Lincoln replied, "and that is, in case you find Lee coming to the north of the Rappahannock I would by no means cross to the south of it. If he should leave a rear force at Fredericksburg, tempting you to fall upon it, it would fight in intrenchments and have you at disadvantage, and so, man for man, worst you at that point, while his main force would in some way be getting an advantage of you northward. In one word, I would not take any risk of being entangled upon the river like an ox jumped half over a fence, and liable to be torn by dogs in front and rear, without a fair chance to gore one way or kick the other." When Lee's plan of operations was further disclosed, Hooker proposed to march "to Richmond at once." He felt sure that he could take it, thus "giving the rebellion a mortal blow." Lincoln's reply was prompt. "If left to me," he said, "I would not go south of the Rappahannock upon Lee's moving north of it. If you had Richmond invested to-day, you would not be able to take it in twenty days; meanwhile your communications and with them your army would be ruined. I think Lee's army and not Richmond is your sure objective point. If he comes toward the upper Potomac, follow on his flank and on his inside track, shortening your line while he lengthens his. Fight him, too, when opportunity offers. If he stays where he is, fret him and fret him."

In these despatches Lincoln exhibits common-sense. His diligent reading of military books, the acquirement of knowledge from his generals when occasion offered, the study of the field of war, the close observation of the campaigns and battles of his armies had borne fruit, making him now the best of counsellors in the relation of the civil commander-in-chief to his officers of technical training and experience. Especially at this time was such counsel necessary from a chief who possessed tact and knowledge of men. The relations between Halleck and Hooker were strained. There was a lack of the harmonious co-operation requisite between those holding so responsible positions. "Almost every request I made of General Halleck was refused," testified Hooker, while Halleck complained that Hooker reported directly to the President. The correspondence between the two generals is marked with acerbity. Moreover, some of the corps and division commanders of the Army of the Potomac had lost confidence in their general. This strained situation while the Army of Northern Virginia under its able leader was advancing into the heart of the North might well have dismayed many a stout soul. Lincoln met the crisis without faltering.

When Lee's northward movement seemed certain, Hooker broke up his camps on the Rappahannock. In his march to the Potomac his management and dispositions were excellent. The Confederates kept to the west of the Blue Ridge, he to the east, covering Washington constantly. Ewell waited at Hagerstown, Maryland, until Longstreet and Hill should be within supporting distance. June 22 he received orders allowing him to move forward. "If Harrisburg comes within your means, capture it," was one of the directions which came from Lee. Ewell, advancing into Pennsylvania to Chambersburg, reached Carlisle on the 27th, and sent Early with one division to seize upon York. On the formal surrender of the town by the chief burgess and a deputation of citizens, Early laid it under contribution, receiving 1000 hats, 1200 pairs of shoes, 1000 socks, three days' rations of all kinds, and \$28,600 United States money. He destroyed between Hanover Junction and York the Northern Central Railroad, which ran from Baltimore to Harrisburg, and sent an expedition to take possession of the Columbia bridge over the Susquehanna. He intended to march his division across it, cut the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad, take Lancaster, make a requisition upon the town for supplies, and attack Harrisburg in the rear while the rest of Ewell's corps assailed it from the front. But a regiment of Pennsylvania militia in fleeing before the Confederates set fire to the bridge and destroyed it. Meanwhile Ewell sent forward his cavalry with a section of

artillery to make a reconnaissance. They approached within three miles of Harrisburg, engaging the pickets of the militia forces assembled there under General Couch for its defence. June 29 Ewell had everything in readiness, and purposed moving on the defences of Harrisburg. Two days previously Longstreet and Hill had reached Chambersburg, and Lee was there in command. His whole army, numbering 75,000 men, was on Pennsylvania soil.

By the middle of June the movements of Lee in Virginia warned the North of the approaching invasion. June 16 the Confederate cavalry were heard of at Chambersburg, and busy preparations were made to defend the threatened points. At one time there was some anxiety for Washington and Baltimore. Stuart in a cavalry raid passed between the Union army and these cities. It was in the Cumberland valley of Pennsylvania, however, that the presence of the enemy was actually and painfully felt. At first the raid of the Confederate horsemen caused excitement. The feeling of relief when they fell back was only temporary, and gave place to alarm and distress as Ewell's corps advanced, and later the rest of Lee's army. The country was wild with rumors. Men, women and children fled before the enemy, and care was taken to run their horses out of the way of the invader. The refugees deemed themselves and their property safe when they had crossed the broad Susquehanna. The bridge over the river, the communication of the Cumberland valley with Harrisburg, was thronged with wagons laden with household goods and furniture. Negroes fled before the advancing host, fearing that they might be dragged back to slavery. June 26 Curtin, the governor of Pennsylvania, issued a proclamation calling for 60,000 men to come forward promptly "to defend their soil, their families, and their firesides." Harrisburg, the capital of the state, was indeed in danger, as was realized by the authorities and the citizens. Thirty regiments of Pennsylvania militia, besides artillery and cavalry, and nineteen regiments from New York assembled under the command of General Couch, who disposed his forces to the best advantage, stationing a large portion of them for the defence of Harrisburg. In the city all places of business were closed, and citizens labored on the fortifications with the pick and the spade. Men were enrolled by wards and drilled in the park and on the streets. The railroad depot was a scene of excitement, caused by the arrival of volunteers in large numbers, and the departure of women and frightened men. The progress of the enemy was pretty accurately known. Reports ran that he was twenty-three miles from the city, then eighteen. June 28 cannonading was heard for two hours, and everyone knew that the Con-

federates were within four miles of the Capitol. Harrisburg would probably have been taken had not Ewell's corps been called back by Lee.

If Harrisburg were captured it was thought that the Confederates would march on Philadelphia. Men well informed believed that Lee had nearly 100,000 men and 250 pieces of artillery. On the evening of June 28 the rumor circulated in Philadelphia that the Confederates were shelling Harrisburg. Chestnut and Market streets were thronged with thousands of men eager for the news. The next day two prominent citizens telegraphed the President that they had reliable information that the enemy in large force was marching upon Philadelphia. Other men of influence desired him to give the general in command authority to declare martial law. Business stopped. The merchants, the manufacturers of iron, the proprietors of machine-shops, the coal operators held meetings and offered inducements to their workmen to enlist for the defence of the state. The members of the Corn Exchange furnished five companies. A meeting of the soldiers of the War of 1812 and another of clergymen were held to offer their services for home defence. It was said that bankers and merchants were making preparations to remove specie and other valuables from the city. Receipts and shipments on the Pennsylvania Railroad were suspended. With all the disturbance and alarm there was no panic. The excitement was at its height from June 27 to July 1. July 1 the sale of government five-twenties for the day amounted to \$1,700,000. Few trains were running on the eastern division of the Pennsylvania Railroad, and it was expected that the track would in many places be destroyed, yet the shares of this company sold in Philadelphia at 61 $\frac{3}{4}$ June 27, and at 60 July 1, on a par basis of 50—a fact as worthy of report as the story of Livy that the ground on which Hannibal encamped his army three miles from Rome, happening at that very time to be sold, brought a price none the lower on account of its possession by the invaders. While gold advanced in New York, there was no panic in the stock market.

When the alarm at the invasion of Pennsylvania was at its height, when every man in the North tremblingly took up his morning newspaper and with a sinking heart watched the daily bulletins, the intelligence came that there had been a change in commanders of the Army of the Potomac. Those in authority depended for the salvation of Harrisburg, Baltimore, and Washington on this army, which the public with its half-knowledge of the situation also felt to be their mainstay.

Hooker, following upon Lee's right flank and covering Washing-

ton, crossed the Potomac, and June 27 made his headquarters at Frederick, Maryland. He proposed to strike Lee's line of communications with Richmond, and desired the garrison of 10,000, holding Maryland Heights, which commanded Harper's Ferry, as a reinforcement to the corps which he had ordered to march west for that purpose. "Is there any reason why Maryland Heights should not be abandoned?" he asked Halleck. "I cannot approve their abandonment," was the answer, "except in case of absolute necessity." Hooker wrote a reply proving that the troops in question were "of no earthly account at Harper's Ferry," while, if placed at his disposition, they might be used with advantage. He ended his despatch with begging that it be presented to the President and the Secretary of War. Immediately after he had sent it, his growing anger at what he considered the unwise and shackling instructions of the general-in-chief prompted him to write, apparently in a fit of petulance, a second despatch asking to be relieved of his position. Halleck received the second telegram five minutes after the first, and referred it to the President. Lincoln made up his mind quickly, and sent an officer to the Army of the Potomac with an order relieving Hooker and appointing in his place George G. Meade. It was an excellent choice. Meade looked like a student, had scholarly habits, was an officer of courage and ability, and commanded now the Fifth Corps, having served in the Potomac army with credit, even distinction. Receiving the communication from the President late on the night of June 27 or early the next morning, he answered it at 7 A. M. in a tone of genuineness which betokened confidence. "As a soldier," he said, "I obey the order placing me in command of this army, and to the utmost of my ability will execute it." The appointment was satisfactory to the officers of the army. Although the risk was great in making a change of generals at so critical a moment, Fortune attended the step and smiled on the new commander during the next five days which gave him fame.

"You are intrusted," wrote Halleck to Meade, "with all the power which the President, the Secretary of War, or the General-in-Chief can confer upon you, and you may rely upon our full support." In answer to a specific inquiry, Meade received for a second time the permission to do as he pleased with the garrison on Maryland Heights. He withdrew it, and posted the larger part of the troops at Frederick as a reserve.

He estimated Lee's force at 80,000 to 100,000; his own he placed at the larger number. His resolution was prompt. June 29 and 30 he advanced northward, and by the evening of the

30th the First Corps had crossed the Pennsylvania line, while the Third and the Eleventh were in the northern part of Maryland; these three constituting the left wing of the army under the command of General Reynolds. The Twelfth Corps lay in Pennsylvania, but at some distance east of the First. Meade established his headquarters at Taneytown, Maryland, thirteen miles south of Gettysburg, retaining the Second and Fifth Corps within easy reach. The Sixth Corps was likewise in Maryland, but lay farther to the eastward, thirty-four miles from Gettysburg. Meade had been prompt to command, his subordinates zealous to obey. The officers, sinking for the moment all their rivalries and jealousies, were careful and untiring in their efforts, while the soldiers did wonders in making long and rapid marches in the hot sun and sultry air of the last days of June. The main idea of Meade had been "to find and fight the enemy," at the same time covering Baltimore and Washington. Hearing now that Lee was falling back and concentrating his army, he announced his present design in a despatch to Halleck. "The news proves that my advance has answered its purpose," he said. "I shall not advance any, but prepare to receive an attack in case Lee makes one. A battle-field is being selected to the rear on which the army can be rapidly concentrated."

The first mistake in Lee's campaign arose from the absence of Stuart's cavalry. He had no accurate and speedy knowledge of the movements of the Federals. His own and Longstreet's instructions to Stuart lacked precision, and Stuart made an unwise use of his discretion. Forgetting perhaps that the main use of horsemen in an enemy's country is to serve as the eyes of the army, the spirit of adventure led him into a raid about the Union troops which lost him all communication with the Confederate army, so that Lee was in the dark as to the progress of his adversary. On the night of June 28 a scout brought word to him that the Union army had crossed the Potomac and was advancing northward. His communications with Virginia were menaced, and he did not dare to let them be intercepted. He might indeed for a while live upon the country, but he could not in his position suffer the interruption of his supplies of ammunition. He called Ewell back from his projected attack upon Harrisburg, and ordered him as well as Longstreet and Hill to march to Gettysburg, on the east side of the South Mountain range.

July 1 Reynolds came in contact with the Confederates. Buford with his cavalry having the day before taken possession of Gettysburg and occupied Seminary Ridge west of the town was resisting their advance when Reynolds with the First Corps came to his

assistance. Sending orders to Howard to advance promptly with the Eleventh, Reynolds selected the battle-field and opened the battle of Gettysburg, but he did not live to see the result of his heroic stand. Before noon he received a bullet in his brain and died instantly. "The death of this splendid officer," writes Fitzhugh Lee with grace, "was regretted by friend and foe," and borrowing the words of another, he adds, "No man died on that field with more glory than he; yet many died, and there was much glory!"

After Reynold's death matters went badly for the First and Eleventh Corps. They were "overborne by superior numbers and forced back through Gettysburg with great slaughter." Buford's despatch of 3:20 P. M. points out an important reason for the defeat. "In my opinion," he said, "there seems to be no directing person." All was confusion and looked like disaster when Hancock arrived on the field. On hearing that Reynolds was killed, Meade, with his excellent judgment of the right man for the place, sent Hancock forward to take the command. He restored order and inspired confidence while the Union troops were placed in a strong position on Cemetery Hill, east of the town. It is thought that if the Confederates had been prompt they might have carried the height, but the order to do so from Lee to Ewell was conditional, and with his force then present he did not deem the attempt practicable. Nevertheless, the first day of the battle of Gettysburg was a Confederate success.

Late in the afternoon of July 1 Slocum with the Twelfth Corps had arrived at Gettysburg. Sickles with the Third Corps marched thither with celerity and zeal. The reports of Hancock, Howard, and others decided Meade that Gettysburg was a good place to fight his battle, and he issued orders to all of his corps to concentrate at that point. He himself arrived upon the battle-field at one in the morning, pale, tired-looking, hollow-eyed, and worn out from want of sleep, anxiety, and the weight of responsibility.

By the afternoon of July 2, Lee and Meade had their whole forces on the field, the armies being about a mile apart. Lee had 70,000, Meade 93,500, less the losses of the first day, which had been much greater on the Union than on the Confederate side. The Confederates occupied Seminary Ridge in a line concave in form, the Federals Cemetery Ridge in a convex line, a position admirably adapted for defence. Meade decided to await attack, and if he had studied closely the character and history of his energetic adversary, he might have been almost certain that it would come. Longstreet, however, differed with his commander. In a conversation at the close of the first day's fight, he expressed a desire that

their troops be thrown around the left of the Union army, interposing themselves between it and Washington and forcing Meade to take the offensive. The anxiety of Lee at not receiving any information from his cavalry had become excitement, and, somewhat irritated at a suggestion contrary to what he had determined upon, he said, "No, the enemy is there and I am going to attack him." From the commencement of his invasion, he had shown contempt of his foe. The stretching of his line from Fredericksburg to Winchester in the face of an opponent who had greater numbers can bear no other construction. While he deemed Meade a better general than Hooker, he thought that the change of commanders at this critical moment counterbalanced the advantage in generalship; and while he was astonished at the rapid and efficient movements of the Army of the Potomac after Meade took command, he had undoubtedly become convinced from his almost unvarying success that he and his army were invincible—a confidence shared by nearly all of his officers and men. His victories on his own soil were extraordinary, but if we compare his campaigns of invasion with those of Napoleon we shall see how far he fell short when he undertook operations in an unfriendly country, although the troops that followed him were in fighting qualities unsurpassed. "Except in equipment," writes General Alexander, "I think a better army, better nerved up to its work, never marched upon a battle-field." With such soldiers, if Lee had been as great a general as Napoleon, Gettysburg had been an Austerlitz, Washington and the Union had fallen.

Lee was up betimes on the morning of July 2, but the movements of his soldiers were slow, and he lost much of the advantage of his more speedy concentration than Meade's. The afternoon was well advanced when he began his attack, and by that time the last of the Union army, the Sixth Corps, which had marched thirty-four miles in eighteen hours, was arriving. There was tremendous fighting and heavy loss that afternoon on both wings of each army. On the Union side Warren and Humphreys distinguished themselves. Sickles was struck by a cannon-ball that caused the loss of a leg, and was borne from the field. The result of the day is accurately told by Lee: "We attempted to dislodge the enemy, and, though we gained some ground, we were unable to get possession of his position." The Confederate assaults had been disjointed: to that mistake is ascribed their small success.

The feeling among the officers in Meade's camp that night was one of gloom. On the first day of the battle the First and Eleventh corps had been almost annihilated. On the second day the Fifth

and part of the Second had been shattered ; the Third, in the words of its commander who succeeded Sickles, was "used up and not in good condition to fight." The loss of the army had been 20,000 men. Only the Sixth and Twelfth corps were fresh. But the generals had not lost spirit, and in the council of war called by Meade all voted to "stay and fight it out." The rank and file had fought as Anglo-Saxons nearly always fight on their own soil. We may guess that on this gloomy night the men went over again in their minds the fate of their army when under Pope, Burnside and Hooker it had encountered the veterans of Lee, but in spite of this doleful retrospect they must have felt in some measure "the spirit that animated general headquarters," the energy of Meade and the faithful co-operation of his generals.

Meade had no thought of taking the offensive, and was busy in improving the natural defences of his position with earthworks. The partial successes of the Confederates determined Lee to continue the attack on the 3d of July. In the early morning there was fighting on the right of the Union line. Then followed an unnatural stillness. "The whole field became as silent as a churchyard until one o'clock." Suddenly came from the Confederate side the reports of two signal guns in quick succession. A bombardment from one hundred and fifteen cannon commenced, and was replied to by eighty guns of the Union army, whose convex line, advantageous in other respects, did not admit of their bringing into action a large part of their artillery. "It was a most terrific and appalling cannonade," said Hancock. But it did little damage. The Union soldiers lay under the protection of stone walls, swells of the ground, and earthworks, and the projectiles of the enemy passed over their heads, sweeping the open ground in their rear. Everybody from the commanding general to the privates felt that this was only preliminary to an infantry charge, and all braced themselves for the tug of war. Hancock with his staff, his corps flag flying, rode deliberately along the front of his line, and by his coolness and his magnificent presence inspired his men with courage and determination. For an hour and a half this raging cannonade was kept up, when Hunt, the chief of the Union artillery, finding his ammunition running low, gave the order to cease firing. The Confederates thought that they had silenced the Federal batteries, and made preparation for their next move.

Longstreet had no sympathy with the vigorously offensive tactics of his chief ; and when Lee on the morning of this July 3 directed him to be ready after the bombardment had done its work to make an attack with Pickett's fresh division reinforced from

Hill's corps up to 15,000 men, he demurred, arguing that the assault could not succeed. Lee showed a little impatience, apparently made no reply, and by silence insisted on the execution of his order. Longstreet took Pickett to the crest of Seminary Ridge, pointed out to him what was to be done, and left him with a heavy heart. Alexander of the artillery was directed to note carefully the effect of his fire, and when the favorable moment came to give Pickett the order to charge. He did not like this responsibility, and asked Longstreet for specific instructions, but the reply which came lacked precision. Still the artillery must open, and when the fire of the Federal guns had ceased, as has been related, Alexander, looking anxiously through his glass at the points whence it had proceeded, and observing no sign of life in the five minutes that followed, sent word to Pickett: "For God's sake, come quick . . . Come quick, or my ammunition won't let me support you properly." Pickett went to Longstreet. "General, shall I advance?" he asked. Longstreet could not speak, but bowed in answer. "Sir," said Pickett, with a determined voice, "I shall lead my division forward." Alexander had ceased firing. Longstreet rode to where he stood, and exclaimed: "I don't want to make this attack. I would stop it now but that General Lee ordered it and expects it to go on. I don't see how it can succeed." But as he spoke Pickett at the head of his troops rode over the crest of Seminary Ridge and began his descent down the slope. "As he passed me," writes Longstreet, "he rode gracefully, with his jaunty cap raked well over on his right ear, and his long auburn locks, nicely dressed, hanging almost to his shoulders. He seemed a holiday soldier." From the other side the Union soldiers watched the advance of Pickett and his fifteen thousand with suspense, with admiration. As they came forward steadily and in perfect order with banners flying, those who looked on might for the moment have thought it a Fourth of July parade.

The Confederates had nearly a mile to go across the valley. As they descended the slope on that clear afternoon under the July sun in full view of their foe, they received a dreadful fire from the Union batteries, which had been put in entire readiness to check such an onset. Steadily and coolly they advanced. After they had got away the Confederate artillery reopened over their heads, in the effort to draw the deadly fire directed at them from Cemetery Ridge; but the Union guns made no change in aim, and went on mowing down Pickett's men. Half-way across there was the shelter of a ravine. They stopped for a moment to breathe, then advanced again, still in good order. A storm of canister came. The slaughter

was terrible. The left staggered ; but, nothing daunted, Pickett and what was left of his own division of forty-nine hundred pressed on in the lead. The other divisions followed. Now the Union infantry opened fire. Pickett halted at musket range and discharged a volley, then rushed on up the slope. Near the Federal lines he made a pause "to close ranks and mass for a final plunge." In the last assault Armistead, a brigade commander, pressed forward, leaped the stone wall, waved his sword with his hat on it, shouted, "Give them the cold steel, boys !" and laid his hands upon a gun. A hundred of his men had followed. They planted the Confederate battle-flags on Cemetery Ridge among the cannon they had captured and for the moment held. Armistead was shot down ; Garnett and Kemper, Pickett's other brigadiers, fell. The wavering divisions of Hill's corps "seemed appalled, broke their ranks," and fell back. "The Federals swarmed around Pickett," writes Longstreet, "attacking on all sides, enveloped and broke up his command. They drove the fragments back upon our lines." Pickett gave the word to retreat.

The Confederates in their charge struck the front of the Second Corps. Hancock, its commander, "the best tactician of the Potomac army," showed the same reckless courage as Pickett, and seemed to be everywhere directing and encouraging his troops. Struck by a ball, he fell from his horse ; and lying on the ground, "his wound spouting blood," he raised himself on his elbow and gave the order, "Go in, Colonel, and give it to them on the flank." Not until the battle of Gettysburg was over did he resign himself to his surgeon, and shortly afterwards he dictated this despatch to Meade : "I have never seen a more formidable attack, and if the Sixth and Fifth corps have pressed up the enemy will be destroyed. . . . I did not leave the field until the victory was entirely secured and the enemy no longer in sight. I am badly wounded, though I trust not seriously. I had to break the line to attack the enemy in flank on my right, where the enemy was most persistent after the front attack was repelled. Not a rebel was in sight up-right when I left."

Decry war as we may and ought, "breathes there the man with soul so dead" who would not thrill with emotion to claim for his countrymen the men who made that charge and the men who met it ?

Longstreet, calm and self-possessed, meriting the name "bulldog" applied to him by his soldiers, expected a counter attack and made ready for it. Lee, entirely alone, rode up to encourage and rally his broken troops. "His face did not show signs of the slightest disappointment, care, or annoyance," recorded Lieut.-Col. Fre-

mantle, an English officer, in his diary on the day of the battle, "and he was addressing to every soldier he met a few words of encouragement, such as, 'All this will come right in the end; we'll talk it over afterwards, but in the mean time all good men must rally. We want all good and true men just now.' He spoke to all the wounded men that passed him, and the slightly wounded he exhorted 'to bind up their hurts and take up a musket' in this emergency. Very few failed to answer his appeal, and I saw many badly wounded men take off their hats and cheer him. He said to me, 'This has been a sad day for us, Colonel—a sad day; but we can't expect always to gain victories.' . . .

"Notwithstanding the misfortune which had so suddenly befallen him, General Lee seemed to observe everything, however trivial. When a mounted officer began licking his horse for shying at the bursting of a shell, he called out, 'Don't whip him, Captain; don't whip him. I've got just such another foolish horse myself, and whipping does no good.'"

An officer almost angry came up to report the state of his brigade. "General Lee immediately shook hands with him and said cheerfully, 'Never mind, General, *all this has been my fault*—it is *I* that have lost this fight, and you must help me out of it in the best way you can.'"

On the morning of the Fourth of July the people of the North received this word: "The President announces to the country that news from the Army of the Potomac, up to 10 P. M. of the 3d, is such as to cover that army with the highest honor, to promise a great success to the cause of the Union, and to claim the condolence of all for the many gallant fallen, and that for this he especially desires that on this day He whose will, not ours, should ever be done be everywhere remembered and revered with profoundest gratitude." The rejoicing of the people was not boisterous; it took the character of supreme thankfulness for a great deliverance. The victory of Gettysburg demonstrated that Lee and his army were not invincible, and that the Confederates had lost in playing the card of an invasion of the North. Nothing now remained to them but a policy of stubborn defence. That this would likewise end in ruin was foreshadowed by the fateful event of the Fourth of July. Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant. Meade's sturdy and victorious resistance to attack was followed by the glorious end of the most brilliant offensive campaign of the war. Had the war been one between two nations, it would now have undoubtedly terminated in a treaty of peace, with conditions imposed largely by the more successful contestant.

JAMES FORD RHODES.

DOCUMENTS

Attempts toward Colonization : the Council for New England and the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, 1621-1623.

[Communicated by Miller Christy, Esq., of Pryors, Broomfield, Chelmsford, England.]

SEVERAL years since, through the kindness of Mr. G. H. Pope, Treasurer of the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol, I was permitted to examine the early records of that body and to extract therefrom information necessary for a work on certain early Arctic voyages upon which I was then engaged.¹ On that occasion, I observed, and partly extracted, some documents in which were recorded the various steps taken between the years 1621 and 1623, by the New England Company or Council for New England (of which Sir Ferdinando Gorges was the founder and leading spirit) to induce the Bristol Society of Merchant Venturers and others to join in its attempts to forward the settlement of New England. Recently, through Mr. Pope's continued kindness, I have been able to examine these documents with greater care and to extract them fully. They are of no little interest in connection with the history of the early attempts to colonize New England ; and, as they have remained until now quite unknown, I propose in what follows to print them in full, together with such explanatory matter as may seem desirable.

Before considering the documents themselves, it will be well to introduce briefly—(1) The ancient Bristol merchants' guild among whose archives they have lain hidden for nearly three hundred years ; (2) Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the man to whose efforts the first attempts to colonize New England were mainly due ; and (3) the chartered company, commonly known as the "New England Company," which he formed to carry out his schemes.

(1) The Fellowship, Society, or Company (as it is variously called) of Merchant Venturers of Bristol is a very interesting and almost unique survival from early times. In medieval days, Bristol (like most other of the larger English cities and towns) possessed many more or less similar organizations ; but, of all these, the one

¹ *The Voyages of Captain Luke Foxe, of Hull, and Captain Thomas James, of Bristol, in Search of a North-west Passage, in 1631-32* (London, Hakluyt Society, two vols., 1894.)

in question alone now exists. Of its foundation there is no record;¹ but traces of such a guild are discoverable as early as 1314, and it probably existed in some form much earlier. By the year 1467 the Society was fully organized, and in 1500 an elaborate code of "Actes and Ordenaunces" (which still exists) was framed for its regulation.

In these early days, the Society appears to have been little more than a sort of trade-committee of the Bristol town council; but, in 1552, King Edward VI. granted to it a charter, under which its independence was secured and it was incorporated as "The Master, Wardens, and Commonalty of Merchant Venturers of the City of Bristol." One Edward Pryn was named as the first master, and the first wardens were Thomas Hickes and Robert Butler. Fresh charters, under which its rights and privileges were confirmed or extended, were granted to it by Queen Elizabeth, by Charles I., and by Charles II. The most important of these charters was that of Charles I., under which its constitution was finally settled, much on the lines at present existing. It gave to the master and wardens ten of "the gravest and discreetest" members as assistants. The "Court" of thirteen members thus constituted still forms the executive body, and is elected annually on "Charter Day" (the 10th of November), as the master and wardens had been long before King Charles I. granted his charter. Under all these charters, the privilege of membership was confined to freemen of Bristol; and, although these freemen have long been decreasing in number and now form a very small portion of the whole body of citizens, what follows will show that the affairs of the Society have been well and wisely administered.

An ancient record states that, in the reign of Edward IV., the Society occupied, for business purposes, "the Chappell and Draughte Chameber apperteyninge thereto in the hows callyd Spyceris Halle, uppon the Back of Bristowe." In 1561, nine years after the Society was first incorporated, it acquired, and thenceforth used as its common hall, the desecrated chapel of St. Clement, in Avon Marsh. The site of this building is still the property of the Company. Upon it, in 1701, they erected the present "Merchants' Hall"—an unpretentious but commodious building, in the classic style, to which a handsome council chamber was added at the back in the early years of the present century.

From the time of Queen Elizabeth (and probably from a much earlier time, of which there are no records), right down to the present day, the history of the Bristol Society of Merchant Venturers

¹ No history of the Society has ever been written, and I am indebted to Mr. Pope for the following information concerning it.

has been the history of commercial enterprise and civic progress in the city of Bristol. The roll of its members' names has been a list of the leading burgesses; and its master, during his year of office, holds a position in the city scarcely inferior to those of the mayor and sheriff. It may be doubted whether, during the last three centuries, Bristol has not received as great benefits from its Society of Merchant Venturers as from its town council. The Society's records show that, for a long period, it watched with a jealous eye over the trade of the port of Bristol, and left undone nothing which might tend to increase its prosperity. Although the Society has ceased, for a long time past, to exercise its original functions, the benefits it has bestowed upon the city have become increasingly apparent.

It was the Society of Merchant Venturers which built Bristol's wharves and quays, largely with borrowed money and at an outlay which long remained unremunerative. It was the Society which presented Clifton Downs to the citizens. The latest of the Society's munificent gifts to Bristol is, perhaps, not the least. In 1696 and 1708, Edward Colston, a prominent citizen of Bristol and a leading member of the Merchant Venturers' Guild, founded an almshouse and a free boarding school, which he endowed with certain lands, of which he constituted the Society trustee. The almshouse still remains under the Society's control; but, in 1875, the Charity Commissioners framed a new scheme for the management of the school. Ten years later, the new scheme was proved unworkable, and then the Society came to the rescue. In 1885, it erected, on the site of the old grammar school and in the centre of the town, the splendid block of buildings now known as the Merchant Venturers Technical College. The Society met the entire cost of building the college, which amounted to about £50,000, and now continues to maintain it solely out of its own funds. Nearly 2000 students—men, women and boys—now pass annually through the college, which is perfectly equipped, and the scheme has proved in the highest degree successful.

The ancient records belonging to the Society are not numerous, considering its antiquity and importance. They consist of the charters and the code of rules¹ already mentioned, the minutes of proceedings,² and various other miscellaneous documents. Among the latter is a large, thick, leather-bound, folio volume, labelled on the back *Book of*

¹ The code of rules is the earliest *original* document now existing, earlier documents being copies merely

² The minutes of proceedings previous to 1639 contain little more than the names of the masters, wardens and treasurers annually appointed; but after that date the minutes are fairly full.

Trade, 1598-1693; in it are copied a large number of letters, petitions, statistical returns, and other documents relating to the rights and privileges of the Society and the trade of the port of Bristol, all carefully indexed. These, it must be understood, are *not originals*, but *office copies*, entered in the book for safe keeping and future reference. They are nearly all written with extreme neatness; and it appears probable, judging from the hand-writing, that all the earlier documents were entered by the same hand and all at one time—not as received or dispatched by the Company. In addition to the documents (ten in number) with which I am specially concerned and shall describe hereafter, there are lists of Bristol ships lost or sold to foreigners; particulars of wharfage and other duties payable on goods entering the port; statistics of the produce imported into Bristol during the seventeenth century; correspondence with the Lords of the Admiralty and Admiral Sir Thomas Button¹ in reference to the guarding of the Severn estuary against the ravages of pirates; letters and other documents relating to the expedition which the Society, or a number of its leading members, sent out, in 1631, under Captain Thomas James, to search for a Northwest Passage to Cathay through Hudson's Bay;² petitions to the Crown in favor of rights and privileges which had been infringed by the merchants of London and elsewhere; correspondence as to the contributions in money, ships, and men to be given by the Bristol merchants towards the suppression of pirates (whether the Spaniards and Dunkirkers in 1597 or the "Turkes of Algier" nearly a hundred years later) and the redeeming of English captives known to be in their hands; and many other documents of similar nature. It is true that most of them are mainly of local importance; but all are worthy of the notice of some competent historian.

The foregoing constitute (as has been said) a meagre collection of records compared with that which such a society might have been expected to possess. Undoubtedly many earlier records have been lost. A number are known to have been taken away in the seventeenth century, and the Society has recently made a praiseworthy, but unsuccessful, attempt to recover these by the offer, through the public press, of a substantial reward. Were they in

¹ Thomas Button, fourth son of Miles Button, of Worlton, Glamorganshire, was born about 1570 and entered the navy in 1589. In 1612, he was chosen to command an expedition sent out to search for a North-west Passage by way of Hudson's Bay. Soon after his return in the following year he was appointed for life Admiral of the Narrow Seas (the Irish Channel), and he saw much active service while serving in this capacity. He died in 1634.

² These letters and documents are printed in full in my work (already alluded to) on the voyages of Captains Luke Foxe and Thomas James to Hudson's Bay in 1631 (pp. cv.-cvii. and cxxxix.-clxviii.).

existence they would probably prove of the utmost interest in throwing light upon the early trade in fish between Bristol and Iceland; upon the expeditions carried out by Thlyde and others, between 1480 and 1497, in search of the fabulous Atlantean Island of Brazil, of which William Worcester (or Botoner¹), Don Pedro de Ayala,² and other writers have made mention; upon the important voyages of John Cabot in 1497 and 1498, as to which we have extremely little direct information; upon the voyage of Captain Martin Pring to the coast of "Virginia" in 1603, dispatched (as Purchas says) by "sundry of the chiefest merchants of Bristol"; and upon many other similar ventures undertaken by the enterprising inhabitants of that ancient sea-port.

It has already been remarked that the Bristol society is an almost unique survival. The only other similar society which now exists outside of London, and is at all comparable with it in respect of age, nature, and importance, is the Society of Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. This body claims to have existed since the reign of King John and possesses a large and most interesting collection of records, ranging in almost unbroken series from the year 1480 to the present time.³ Another similar society of lesser importance, though equally ancient, is the Society of Merchant Adventurers of York, which claims to date from the year 1200 and still exists. It has a limited number of ancient records.⁴ Yet another somewhat similar body, though apparently of much more recent origin than any of the foregoing, was that which bore the cumbrous title of "The Governor, Consults, and Societie of Merchant Adventurers of the City of Exon traffiquinge to the Realme of ffraunce and the Dominions of the ffrench Kings." It was incorporated by a charter granted by Queen Elizabeth on June 17, 1560, but probably existed in some form at an earlier date.

¹ In his *Itinerarium sive Liber Rerum Memorabilium* preserved in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge

² In his well-known letter dated July 25, 1498 (see *Calendar of State Papers, Spanish Series*, I. 176-177.

³ Extensive extracts from these records are in course of being printed in a work edited by Mr. F. W. Dendy and printed by the Surtees Society. The first volume was published in 1895 and a second is in preparation.

⁴ See the *First Report of the Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission* (1870), p. 110. The Society's ancient hall—one of the most interesting secular buildings in York—still stands in Fossgate. Over the entrance, facing the street, is the coat of arms of the Society, sculptured large and blazoned in colors, with its quaint motto, *Dieu nous donne bonne aventure*. Within is a court-yard, beyond which is the Merchant's Hall. On the ground floor is a small chapel, apparently of the early part of the fifteenth century. Above it, on the first floor, is the large timber-built common hall, of somewhat later date, its walls hung with portraits of leading members, extending back for three centuries. The place is freely shown to all and is well worth a visit.

Though it has long ceased to exist, some of its old records, extending in date to the end of the reign of Elizabeth, have been preserved.¹ Leaving out of account the great London companies, there also still remain, in some other of the more ancient English cities and towns, a few smaller companies, relics of the many medieval guilds, which concern themselves with special trades. The Trinity Houses of Kingston-upon-Hull and Newcastle-upon-Tyne are also worth noticing in this connection, as having had their origin in similar early guilds.

Such, then, has been the history of the ancient medieval guild, still existing in an altered and modernized form, which has preserved among its archives the documents hereafter to be noticed. It will next be necessary to speak of the man whose efforts towards the colonization of New England those documents record.

(2) Sir Ferdinando Gorges—the “Father of English Colonization in North America,” as he has been aptly termed—came of a family of good position, long seated at Wraxall, in Somersetshire. He was probably born in or about 1566, but the exact date is uncertain. Early in life, he adopted the profession of arms. In 1591, during the siege of Rouen, at which he was wounded, he received from his commander, Robert Earl of Essex, the honor of knighthood in recognition of his services.² Before this, he had had charge of the defences of Plymouth, where he seems to have acted as a sort of military governor, though often absent on active service abroad. In 1605, he took a leading part in promoting the voyage made by Captain George Weymouth to the coast of what is now the state of Maine; and, when Weymouth returned to Plymouth in the fall of the same year, bringing with him five North American Indians, natives of the country he had visited, Gorges received three of them into his own house. From his intercourse with them after they had begun to learn English, he became deeply interested in what they told him of their country. Out of this interest, there grew up in his mind a project for the colonization of the land of which the Indians had told him; and to his efforts was due, in a large measure, the establishment of the Virginia Company in the year 1606. It will be remembered that King James, by the charter of April 10, 1606, authorized the establishment of two separate colonies, a southern and a northern; that the second (or northern) colony, controlled

¹These were discovered some years since, among the papers of the still-existing Society of Weavers, Fullers, and Shearmen of Exeter, and extensive extracts from them were printed by Mr. William Cotton in *An Elizabethan Guild of the City of Exeter* (Exeter, 1873).

²See Metcalfe's *Book of Knights* (London, 1885), p. 137. Twenty-two other knights were made on the same occasion.

from Plymouth, was a failure from the beginning ; and that in 1620, on petition of Gorges, a patent was issued incorporating a new Plymouth Company, commonly called the Council for New England. This patent (now often spoken of as "The Great Patent of New England") finally passed the seals on November 3, 1620, and must next be noticed.

(3) By this patent the King incorporated "a body politique and corporate," to be called "The Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America." It was to consist, in perpetual succession, of not more than forty members. The King granted to it for ever (subject only to his own supreme sovereignty) the whole of that portion of North America extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific and lying between the fortieth and the forty-eighth degrees of north latitude, which region was henceforth to be known as New England. The rest of the charter is occupied by provisions as to the election of a governor and other officers, the admission of new members, the administration of justice within the company's territories, the punishment of offenders, the settlement and government of the territory, and such like matters. It is provided that, for seven years, all goods imported into the colony from England shall be free from duty ; also that, for twenty-one years, all goods imported into England from the colony shall be admitted free from all duty, except an impost of five per cent. The rights of fishing along the coast were specifically granted to the company, which was empowered to seize and confiscate the ships and goods of any person who might, without the company's consent, resort to the colony or the adjacent seas for the purpose of trading or fishing.

The violent opposition which the company experienced at the outset of its career¹ naturally hindered it from commencing the work of colonization for which it had been formed. Nevertheless, there is evidence that meetings of the Council were held during the year 1621, and a certain amount of business was transacted—chiefly the consideration of measures for "freeing" the company's patent or procuring a new one, for commencing the actual settlement of the company's territories, and for preventing the infringement of the company's rights by unauthorized persons who were seeking to trade within its territories or fish along its coasts. This brings us to the consideration of the ten documents preserved at Bristol, of which five relate to the steps taken by the company at this period, and

¹ The controversy which took place over the patent has been admirably summarized by Dr. Charles Deane in Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III. 295-310.

are, it is believed, the earliest records of the company's proceedings now in existence.

The first of these (I.) is a copy of a letter, bearing the date September 18, 1621, from the Privy Council of England to the mayors of Bristol, Exeter, Plymouth, and other west-country towns. It has been printed by Brodhead¹ from the copy in the Register of the Acts of the Privy Council, and therefore is not printed here. The letter (which is signed by nine privy councillors and by the clerk of the Privy Council) recites that, although the New England Company had offered every facility to merchants and others to become partakers in its rights and privileges, by consenting to admit them as members, nevertheless unauthorized persons, not members, had infringed or sought to infringe its exclusive rights by resorting to New England in order to trade or fish there; for which reason the Council wrote desiring the mayors of the cities and towns most concerned to warn their respective townsmen that, in future, all such infringements of the company's rights would be strictly dealt with and severely punished. Without doubt, this letter was written at the request of the New England Company, which sought to strengthen its position and to better establish its rights by obtaining such a warning letter. It appears probable, from what follows, that the particular copy of the letter which was intended for the mayor of Bristol was entrusted to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who delivered it in person to the mayor, together with a certain other document to be noticed hereafter. The mayor, Robert Rogers by name, doubtless thought that he could not better carry out the wishes of the Privy Council than by communicating a copy of the letter to the Society of Merchant Venturers of Bristol, and this accounts for its appearance among the records of that body.²

The second of the Bristol documents is that, already mentioned, which Sir Ferdinando Gorges delivered to the mayor with the letter above alluded to. It is undated, but passages in the two succeeding documents leave no doubt that it is of about the same date as the letter (namely September, 1621). It sets out, in thirty clauses or "articles," a formal scheme, which the company had drawn up, for the regulation of the trade with, and for promoting the settlement of, New England. The company, it appears, did not intend to undertake trading or colonizing on its own account, but wished to farm out its rights by means of a license to be granted to a subsidiary joint-stock company, which was itself to consist of several

¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs*, III. 5.

² *Book of Trade, 1598-1693*, fo. 104.

smaller affiliated companies, one in each of the five chief west-country ports. There were to be committees, each consisting of eighteen members or "commissioners," in the cities of Bristol and Exeter, and similar committees, but each consisting of twelve members only, in the towns of Plymouth, Dartmouth and Barnstaple. Each committee was to be more or less independent and self-controlled, with its own treasurer, clerk, registrar, and other officers; but it was desired that all should co-operate in working; and, to facilitate this, it was provided that a general meeting should be held half-yearly at the more-or-less-centrally-situated town of Tiverton. The "Articles and Orders" intended to control the working of these local committees under the general supervision of the Council for New England are very quaint and curious; but it must be admitted that they do not strike one as very workable or practical, and this was the view taken of them (as will be seen hereafter) by the shrewd Bristol merchants of the time. The "Articles and Orders" in question run as follows:¹

[II.] *Articles and Orders Concluded on by the PRESIDENT and COUNSELL for the Affaires of NEW ENGLAND for the better Government of the Trade and [for the] Advancement of the Plantacon in those parts.*

1. first, that, in the City of Bristoll and Exon, and in the Townes of Plymouth, Dartmouth, Waymouth, and Barnstable, there shalbe a Treasouro^r in either of them, togeather wth certayne Comission^{rs} chosen by the Adventurers, To all whome the Trespure, Government, and pollicye of the Trade for New England shall bee Comitted; as alsoe such other officers as shall bee founde convenient for that Service shalbe designed to their p^ticuler Charge.

2. And, for the better Government of the Said affaires: It is further ordered that there shalbee chosen xviiij Comissioners out of the Adventurers of the City of *Bristol* and the p^{ts} therevnto adioyning, and xviiij out of the City of *Exon* and the p^{ts} therevnto adioyning, and xij out of the Towne of *Plimouth* and the p^{ts} therevnto adioyning, and xij out of the Towne of *Dartmouth* and th^e p^{ts} therevnto adioyning, and xij out of the Towne of *Barnstable* and th^e p^{ts} therevnto adioyning; out of w^{ch} nomber they are to choose their Treasouro^r for eu^y of the said places: And they soe chosen to nominate their Register, Auditors, Clarke, and other Officers.

3. And it is further ordered that the Treasouro^{rs} and Commission^{rs} (being so chosen by the Company of Adventurers of the Seu^rall Citties and Townes Corporate, or the greater p^{te} of them that shalbee present) shall receyve their comission for the Manad[g]ing of their affaires from

¹ *Book of Trade, 1598-1693*, ff. 105-109. It will, of course, be understood that the headings which are prefixed to these Bristol documents formed no part of the originals, but were added by the scribe who entered them in the Society's *Book of Trade*. I am greatly indebted to Mr. Pope for the care with which he has corrected the printer's proofs of these documents with the originals.

vs, the President and Counsell, according to his Mat^s auctoritie in that behalfe graunted vnto vs.

4. And it is further provided that none shalbee admitted to bee a Comission^r in either of the Citties that shall not putt into the *Capital* stocke for trade and fishing of his owne propp^r goodes[]¹: Nor none to bee admitted Comission^{rs} in either of the said townes but hee that shall putt in []¹ of his owne proper goodes.

5. The Comission^{rs} thus chosen shall attend their services the space of sixe yeeres; and, at the end thereof, one third *pte* to bee removed by bills or lotts to be drawne. And soe, after twoe yeeres, a like third *pte* to bee removed; and soe, from tyme to time, an elec^on to bee made of new [Commissioners]; and that course to bee contynued eu^y two yeeres, vnlesse there shallbe found other just and reasonable cause, through the death, sickness, or misdemeano^r, of any to be removed, in whose place a new one is to bee chosen.

6. That whoso^eu^r intends to trade in those Territories of *New England* must resolute to putt in his adventure into the Comon Stocke of one of these Citties or Townes Corporate, togeather wth the rest, to be manadged by the Treasouro^r and Comission^{rs} for the publike good of the Adventurers.

7. That, in case it shall be free for eu^y one, of what qualitie or con^{di}c^on soe^r, to putt in his said adventure from fife pounds to fife Thousand pounds, or more, as he please: And, after thend of eu^y voyadge, to receyve his gaine or losse as it shall fall out.

8. And, for that there canne be noe certeyne vse made of any trad or other comoditie ariseing wthin those Countryes wthout the safetie of their goods and *psone* that shall resort thither and assurance of those territories against any attempt of forraine princes or the Barberus people natives; w^{ch} securitie is to bee attained by erecting forts, placeing of Garrisons, maynteyninge shipp^s of warr uppon the Coasts, and officers for the more safe and absolute Government of those parts (matters not to bee accomplished butt wth exceeding greate Charges): It is, therefore ordered towards the defraing of this Charge that, out of the first Capitall adventure, there is to be deducted the tenth penny, soe as the Treasouro^{rs} and Comission^{rs} are to account to the Adventurers but for nyne *pts* of the said adventure, the tenth penny being defaulted, as is aforesaid, togeather wth the proceeds thereof, and to be accounted for to vs the President and Counsell for the affaires of New England.

9. That eu^y yeere, about Michaelmas and Easter, there shall bee a Generall Meeting at *Teuerton*,² in the County of Devon, of the said seu'all Citties and Townes, whether they are to send three out of either Cittie and twoe out of either towne, to resolve uppon their Mutuall proceedings; as, namely, to what Porte or *pts* of those Territories they will send any shipp or shipp^s, and what marketts are fittest to vent their comodities in, and what shipp^s are meetest to goe vnto those marketts; as, alsoe, whether the whole shall proceed uppon a Jointe Stocke or that eu^y Cittie and Towne doe proceed uppon their seu'all adventures, w^{ch} by all meanes is conceived to bee the worst, both for the publike and private [good].

¹ Blanks are left for these amounts in the document itself.

² Undoubtedly Tiverton was chosen as the place of the half-yearly meetings because (though not one of the cities and towns named) it was more or less centrally situated and easily reached from all of them.

10. And, if any thing shall happen at the said meeting disputable betwene the said Comission^{rs}, not to be determined betwene themselves, that, in such case, uppon knowledg thereof given vnto vs, the President and Counsell, such an order shall be settled by vs as shall agree wth equity and indifferency to all *pties*.

11. If, in Case any of the Commission^{rs} in either of these Citties or Townes shall bee found negligent in the *p*formance of their orders or duties, vppon Certificat made thereof to vs, the President and Counsell, such further Course shalbee taken for reformacon as shall bee found behoofull in th^e behalfe, agreable to Equity and Justice.

12. It is likewise provided that, some three months before the *de*pture of eu^ey shipp or shippes, there shalbee notice given of their names and burthens vnto vs, the President and Counsell, togeather wth the names of their Maisters, as alsoe howe farre forth they are able, wthout hinderance to their other ymployments, to helpe wth the transportacon of men and other necessities for the supplie of the Plantacon; vppon receipte whereof, a Comission for the proceedinge of the said shipp shalbee sent vnto them.

13. It is further ordered that none shall goe into those *pts* as a passenger to plante or inhabite before hee bee therevnto lycenced by vs, the President and Counsell.

14. And it is likewise ordered that the Captaine or M^r of the Shippes ymployed to those *pts* wth any passengers shall, before their coming from thence, bring Certificat vnder the hands and seals of the Governo^r and other Commanders for the time being, what *p*sons he lefte there, and of what qualitie or condicon they weare; the w^{ch} hee shall deliu^r to the Treasouro^r, to bee recorded in that City from whence he was ymployed, and the Coppie thereof to be sent vnto vs, the President and Counsell.

15. That, in one moneth after the setting out of any, the Accountes bee Audited wth in the same seu^{al}l Cittie or Towne, that the charge may bee knowne; And that the Accounts bee read at their publike Courts or meetings.

16. That, wthin two moneths after the end of every voyage, the accounts be Audited and levelled, and the gaines or losse made knowne and published at the said Courts.

17. That whoso^er desires to receyve his profitts arising out of his adventures, hee is to repaire to the Register of the names of the *Adventurers*, and to receyve under his hand a noate of his adventure directed to the Audito^rs, from whome he is to receyve the accounte of his Retorne, w^{ch} shalbee a Warrant to the Treasouro^r to pay the same vppon his acquittance and discharge for so much receyved.

18. The Treasouro^r[s] and Receyver[s] appointed by the Comissioners for the said Company of Adventurors shall bee answered for by them that soe choose them, or otherwise they to take sufficient securitie of them for making good the Cash they shall be intrusted wth.

19. And, for that it is thoughte fitt that those that labo^r for the publike should receyve some thing towards their expence and travell: It is further ordered that they shall have allowed vnto them one in the hundred of all goods going out or coming in for the defrayment of all Charges ariseing as well for travell as otherwise, as they are publike s^vants; And this to bee distributed at the discrecon of the Treasouro^r and the greater *p*te of the Comission^{rs} assembled at their ordinary meetings.

20. And it is further ordered that the Comission^{rs} shall not sell nor deliver any shipp or goods vnto the Company of their owne before the

same be prayed by eighte or nyne of the number of the said Adventuro's w^{ch} are not Comission's belonging to that Citty or Towne.

21. And these Comission's are likewise to take into their Consideraçon what prizes it is fitt to sett vpon any Comodities that the Inhabitants and Planters in New England shall have gotten through their owne industry and labo^r, and in what manner they are to receyve satisfacçon for the same, and also to take care they are not exacted vppon in any sorte.

22. ffor the better supplie of the said *Plantaçon*, the said Comission's shall endeavo^r to furnishe the seu'all Townes or Habitaçons in New England wth all kind of necessary tradesmen, whoe shall (either as publike servants for the Company or otherwise), according to their discrecçons, bee able from time to time to furnishe the said places with necessary provisions vppon reasonable condiçons.

23. It is further ordered that the Commissioners, Treasouro's, and officers shall be solely by [*sic*] sworne by some of the Counsell th^t shall be assigned, truly and faithfully to put into execution their endeavo^{rs}, according to their vttermost skill, for the good and most profit of the Adventurors, and their true and their true [*sic*] and faithful dealing in all things wherein they are intrusted.

24. And it is further ordered that eu'y shipp of three score tons shall carry wth them twoe Piggs, two Calves, two couple of tame Rabbetts, two couple of Hens, and a cocke, w^{ch} they shall deliue^r at the Iland of *Menethiggen*,¹ to the hands of such as shall be assigned to receive them, for the use of the Colony.

25. And, for the Greater benefitt of the M^rchants and Adventurers in the Course of Trade: It is further ordered by vs, the President and Counsell, that the Comission's shall contracte wth the M^{rs} of the shippes that are to goe in the first fleete to leave in the said country the fift[e?] Man of their fishing Company, togeather wth the necessary provisions for the fishing Crafte, as also Victuals, vntill the retorne of the fleete (whoe shall bee furnished by vs wth saulte at reasonable prizes), to followe their fishing courses, the better to better to [*sic*] make triall of all the seasons of the yeare, as alsoe to make provision for the lading of some shippes as soon as the next fleete or shipping shall arryve.

26. Vppon Retorne of any of the said shippes, the Captaine or M^r thereof shall repayre to such of the Counsell of New England as are next resident vnto them, to whome they shall give an accounte of their voyage and other accidents happening, that the same may bee Certified to vs, the President and Counsell.

27. further, if it shall happen that any, contrary to the treaties of trade and commerce, shall offer to crosse the proceedings of such as shall bee ymployed into those parts: It shall bee lawful, according to his Ma^{ties} auctoritie in that behalfe granted, to repell, and by all meanes and wayes to resist, the same.

28. As for the *Capitall Stock* for the settling of the Plantaçon, it is intended it shall be paid vnto the hands of the Treasour^{or} belonging to vs, the President and Counsell for the said Affaires of New England, and by him to be disbursed, according to order in that behalfe to bee provided.

29. That every man that desires to have any possession of land in the said Territories is to putt in his adventure into the said Treasury, and see to take of him a bill of receipte for the same, for w^{ch} hee is to receyve

¹ Monhegan, no doubt.

after the rate of one hundred acres for eu'y single share of tenne pounds, to dispose thereof at his discrecōn. And for eu'y man that shall goe vppon his owne charge to have, in like manner, one hundred acres for his share ratably, vppon like condiçons, payeng twoe shillings *p* aīn for eu'y hundred acres, as chiefe rent to the President and Counsell; w^{ch} lands shall bee assured vnto them vnder the Great Seale of the said President and Counsell.

30. Those that shall determine or are desirous to settle a private plantaçon vppon their owne or their friends private adventure shall have allowed vnto them, under the Seale aforesaid, for eu'y *p*son soe by them transported to plant one hundred acres of land, payeng, as aforesaide, for the same, to the President and Counsell, two shillings *p* ann, for eu'y hundred acres, And shall likewise enioy such other priuiledge as are agreeable to his worth or habillity.

The letter from the Privy Council and the foregoing "Articles and Orders" were probably delivered to the Mayor of Bristol by Sir Ferdinando Gorges towards the end of September (1621). At the same time, or perhaps a few days later, Gorges had a more or less formal conference with some of the leading merchants of the city, as will appear hereafter. At this conference, the terms upon which the Council for New England would be willing to grant licenses to individual merchants to fish along the New England coast were discussed. The larger question (as to the proposals contained in the "Articles and Orders") seems to have been no more than broached; but Gorges left having received a promise from the merchants that they would give the scheme due consideration and would communicate their decision to him as soon as possible. Having waited a fortnight or three weeks and heard nothing, Gorges, on October 12th, wrote from Ashton Court¹ (where he appears to have been staying) to the mayor (the before-mentioned Mr. Robert Rogers) to express his surprise that the merchants had not communicated their decision to him. His rather obscurely-worded letter, sent specially by the hand of one of his servants, forms the third of the documents preserved at Bristol and runs as follows:²

[III.] *S^r fferdinand Gorge his letter to the Major of Bristoll concerning the said letter and articles.*

To the right woo^t my very
Loving frind, M^r Rob^te Rogers,
Mayo^r of Bristoll, give theis.

Sir,—

The Paines and Care I have taken to make yo^r Citty *p*taker of the benefitts that, by Gods favo^r and the industrious labor and Charge

¹ The splendid mansion of Ashton Court, standing about three miles southwest from Bristol, belonged at this period to Sir Hugh Smyth, Knight, whose descendants still own it. His wife was Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Gorges, Knight. After Sir Hugh's death in 1627, Sir Ferdinando Gorges married his widow.

² *Book of Trade, 1589-1693*, fo. 109.

of others, have bine discour'd, doth sufficiently declare the good affeccon I bare you; and, therefore, I shall not and at this present [? attempt] to vse other arguments for prooffe thereof: onely I hould it straung that, having stand this longe for answer to the Lords letters and the orders left wth some of you, I have not yet heard from you or any of them. But it may be these offices are conceyved to bee rather of necessity for some private ends, then out of a voluntary disposiçon to doe a publique good: if it bee so, I canne sooner pdon their errors that are guiltye of that cryme then tell howe to reforme their natures. In a word, I desire of you to give mee acknowledgement vnder yo^r hand that you have receyved the letter, and that the Marchants have taken notice of the orders thereby expressed; the w^{ch} I desire you to send mee by this bearer, my Servant, whome I have caused to attend you on purpose for it. And even so, wth many thancks for yo^r kind enterteynm^t, I comit you to Gods Holy Proteccon and will alwayes rest

Your very Loving frind,
FFERND GORGE

From Ashton,
Octob. 12th 1621.

The mayor promptly replied to the letter of Sir Ferdinando, for he wrote the very next day, October 13th. He had (he says) delivered the letter from the Privy Council and the "Articles and Orders" to the Society of Merchant Venturers, which body had met, only two days previously, to consider them. The Merchants had (continues the mayor) found the Articles so "difficult" that, on the spur of the moment and in the absence from home of many of their leading members, they could do nothing in respect of them, but they would like further conference with Sir Ferdinando upon the matter. Nevertheless (added the mayor), the merchants hoped that if, in the meantime, any of them desired to send fishing vessels to the New England coast, they would be allowed to do so on their promising to pay to the company a percentage on their profits. Here is what the mayor said in full:¹—

[IV.] *The Major's answer to Sir fferdinand Gorge, in the behalfe of the Generallty, touching his demaund.*

Sir,

The letter of the Lords of his Ma^{ty}s most honorable privie counsell, togeather wth the Articles concerning the affaires of New England, w^{ch} I receyved from you, I have deliu'ed to the M^r and Company of M^rch'ts of this citty; whoe, for answeare therevnto, have informed mee that, at their gen^{all} assembly twoe dayes past, they pvsed the contents thereof and doe finde the said Articles so dificult that, at p^{re}sent, they cannot conclude, in regard of the shortnes of tyme to them allotted and for that many of their Company experienced in the like affaires are nowe from whome. Those w^{ch} are here intended to have had some conference wth your selfe, and to that end did send a speciall messenger to your Inne in Bristoll, where hee spake wth one of your servants, who reported that

¹ *Book of Trade, 1589-1693, fo. 110.*

you would bee here the next morning, for w^{ch} cause they deferred their answer vntill yo^r coming. And now, seeing that your business will not p^rmitt you, the matter being of great consequence and concerning as well other places as this City, they determined not to doe any thing for the gen^rall wthout further deliberacon and also advise of the Adventurers of the other Ports, wth whome they meane to confer. Onely they desire that if, in the meane time, any p^rticuler men of their Company shall set forthe any shipping on a fishing voyadg for that Country, then to allowe you an indifferent rate, p^rporconing the same by the tonne, or otherwise, as shall be agreed vppon; w^{ch}, yf you please to entertayne, some two of them will repaire vnto you, or els send you answer thereof wth all expedicon, either to Plymouth or London; and soe, having not elce to enlarge for [at this] present,
doe rest,

Yo^r Loving frind,

[ROBERT ROGERS]

Bristoll, this

xijth of October 1621.

But the Bristol merchants were astute business men. With the cumbrous scheme propounded by the Council for New England, they would have nothing to do; but they did want a share in the fisheries along the coast; and, in order to ascertain the most advantageous terms on which the latter could be secured, they decided to temporize. Accordingly, while their mayor was in correspondence with Sir Ferdinando, nine of the leading merchants communicated on their own account with their parliamentary representatives in London, Mr. John Whitson and Mr. John Guy.¹ In their letter (which here follows), the merchants recited all that had taken place, enclosed copies of the documents which they had received, and desired their colleagues in London to procure a copy of the New England Company's patent and ascertain from it privately whether the Company's rights and privileges really were such as Sir Ferdinando Gorges had represented them to be; for (they explained) some of their number were inclined to accept the terms on which a license to fish was offered if satisfied that those terms really were the best obtainable. They write: ²

[V.] *The Companies letter to Mr. Whitson, Mr. Guy, and others at London, to certify them of the busines of Sir Ferdinand Gorge.*

Woorⁿ Sirs.—

Our love to you remembered, &c. Here hath bine lately Sir fferdinand Gorge, knight, wth letters from the Lords of his Mat^s most

¹ John Whitson, alderman, and formerly mayor, of Bristol, was elected member of Parliament for the city on November 11, 1605, and sat through several parliaments. He was one of the chief of those who, in 1603, sent Captain Martin Pring on a voyage to the coast of New England; and Pring, on this occasion, named a certain bay after him. John Guy, also an alderman of Bristol, was returned as member for that city on January 16, 1620–21, and he continued to sit through several parliaments.

² *Book of Trade, 1589–1693, fo. III.*

honorable privie Counsell directed to the Mayo^{rs} of Bristoll, Exon, Plimouth, and other places, thereby requiring them to signifie vnto such of his Mat^s Subiects inhabiting neere the said Coasts whome it doth concern that noe p^{son} should presume to attempt or doe any thinge to prejudice or hinder the President and Counsell of New England in their trade and Plantacon in those p^{ts}: The tenor of w^{ch} letter, togeather with certeyne Articles concluded on by the said President and Counsell, wee have related vnto the Company of M^cchants and Owners of this Porte at a generall assemblie; whoe in no sorte doe like of the said Articles, being they concerne the establisheing and making of a Joincte Company Stocke throughout all the Western p^{ts} to be ordered and governed by the said President and Counsell; whereof wee have given him to vnderstand and alsoe of our determinacon not to doe any thinge for the gen^{all} w^{thout} further deliberacon and advice; yet, in regard that the Newfoundland fishing hath fayled of late yeeres, here are some that are forward to make triall of that new fishing; and, to that purpose (the knighte being present at o^r assembly), [they] did demaund whether the said President and Counsell had power to restraine vs from fishing on those Coasts; who answered ¹ that it was not soe menconed in the patent, but that the whole land from forty to fortie eighte degrees Northerly latitude, lyeng on the Coaste of *America*, was graunted wth all priuiledges belonging to free Lords, and that there could be noe fishing w^{thout} the vse of the land, w^{ch} wee could not p^take of w^{thout} his allowance; ² wherevpon, it was demaunded what hee would require of vs for a shippe of one hundred tonnes to be sent thither on fishing and onely to make [such] vse of the land there as is made in Newfoundland; whoe at first demaunded tenne p^{cent} of o^r adventure, to be valued as well on the shipping as otherwise; but, after much debating of the matter, hee came to this point:—that, for eu^{ry} thirtie tonnes of shipping that wee should send thither, hee would have a man carried over and landed there, with the value of tenne pounds to be layd out in such provision as should bee appointed, only the charge of the man's goeing over to be deducted; and soe accordingly for eu^{ry} thirtie tons of shipping, or else to pay tenne pounds in money for eu^{ry} thirtie tons of shipping w^{ch} wee shall send thither, the w^{ch} will amount to fiftie pounds charge vppon a shippe of one hundred and fiftie tons; vppon w^{ch} termes, the setter forth or furnisher of the said shipp shall alwayes after have libertie to set forth that ship, or any other ship of the like burthen w^{thout} payeng any other duty or thinge to the said President and Counsell; for w^{ch} his demaunds hee hath given vs time to consider of. Nowe, good sirs, seing that here are some whoe are willing to adventure that way, our request vnto you is, in the behalf of the City in gen^{all}, that you wilbee pleased to procure a coppie of the letters pattents graunted vnto the said President and Counsell of New England (w^{ch}, as the knighte sayth, was lately confirmed againe aboute this time twelve moneth), and that you would alsoe p^{vs}e the contents thereof, to

¹ That is, "the knight" (Sir Ferdinando Gorges) answered.

² It is not very easy to follow Gorges in this statement. The exclusive right of fishing, both on the mainland and islands and in the seas adjoining, was (contrary to this declaration by Gorges) specifically granted to the company under its charter, as already shown. Possibly an explanation of his statement is to be found in the fact that strong objection had been raised to the granting of this exclusive right, and arrangements had been made, though they were never carried out, for the granting of a new charter, from which it was probably intended to omit the grant of this exclusive right.

know if he hath any power to restraîne our fishing on those coasts, and to write vs your opinion thereof. ffor, if they have power to restraîne, here are some that are willing, for their peaceable goeing thither, to give [i. e., *pay*] the demaund aforesaid; whereof wee desire your opinion, as alsoe what you conceyve is fittest to be done for the quiet enioying of the said fishing trade. And, for the charge that you shall be at in the premisses, it shall bee borne by the Company in gen'all. The Coppie of the said letter and Articles wee send you here wth to *pvse*; and so, haveing not else to enlarge for the *psent*, [we] doe comitt you to the proteëcon of the Almightye, and doe rest

Yo^r loving frinds,

JOHN LANGTON,
RICHARD HOLWORTHIE,
M^r LONGE,
HUMFRY HOOKE,
THOMAS WRIGHT,
HUMFRY BROWNE,
ANDREW CHARLTON,
WILL^m JONES,
WILL^m PITT,

Bristoll:

Octob. 1621.¹

As to the outcome of this correspondence and of the enquiries made by Messrs. Whitson and Guy in London, we know nothing; for the succeeding documents are of later date and relate to entirely different matters. Before noticing them, it will be well to refer briefly to certain other records preserved elsewhere, which carry on (allowing for a gap of seven months—from November 1621 to May 1622) the history of the Council's proceedings.

So far as is known with certainty, all the *original* documents recording the proceedings of the Council for New England are lost, with the exception, perhaps, of one or two patents granted by the Council. There exist, however, three more or less contemporaneous documents which appear to be *copies* of portions of the original minutes of proceedings at meetings of the Council. Two of these documents require to be noticed here.

The most important of these documents is a manuscript book in the possession of Mrs. Carew, of Crowcombe Court, Somersetshire,² in the beginning of which are neatly entered the minutes of thirty-seven meetings of the Council held between May 31, 1622, and June 29, 1623. It is quite possible that this may be the *actual* minute-book of the company, and not a copy; but, if this is the case, it is not easy to explain why the minutes of later meetings were

¹ The imperfect date has been added in another hand, which belongs, apparently, to a slightly later period.

² Crowcombe Court was built by John Carew, Esquire, about the year 1615.

not entered on the remaining leaves, now blank ; and the evenness of the writing seems against the idea that the minutes were entered at different times, as meetings were held. Whether the original or a copy, it is certainly of contemporary date.

The second document appears to be a copy of the foregoing, though it shows slight verbal differences (perhaps due to errors of the copyist) and lacks several leaves at the end—those on which the last two meetings (held on June 28 and 29, 1623) were, doubtless, recorded. This document is, perhaps, as much as half a century later in date than the events it records, and is, therefore, certainly not an original.¹

The third document mentioned above must be reserved for later notice.

The meetings recorded in the two documents here noticed were evidently the first formal meetings held by the company for the transaction of business. Earlier meetings there certainly were, as already stated ; but they were probably of an informal character and the minutes of them (if any were kept) were probably mere memoranda made on loose slips of paper. With the meeting held on May 31, 1622, however, regular meetings commenced ; for thereafter we hear in the minutes of the election of a governor (Sir Ferdinando Gorges), a treasurer (Dr. Barnabe Goche, of Exeter), a clerk (Mr. William Boles), and other officers ; while a box in which to preserve the company's papers was ordered to be provided ; negotiations were opened with the Earl of Salisbury for the hire of rooms, to serve as the head-quarters of the company, in the New Exchange ; and other business incidental to the commencement of the company's operations was transacted. Among the more miscellaneous things done were the granting of several licences to fish on the New England coast and the division among individual members of a considerable portion of the company's territories. The procuring of a new patent was also a matter which received a great deal of attention. Under date November 11, there occurs a passage which apparently relates to the letter from the Privy Council and the "Articles and Orders" already given :

"It is propounded that th^e Orders of th^e Lords of th^e Privie Councell be putt in print, together with th^e Orders for Settling of the trade and

¹ This document, which is preserved in the Public Record Office in London (*State Papers, Colonial Series*, Vol. II., No. 6), was printed by Dr. Chas. Deane in 1867 (*Proc. Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, Apr., 1867, pp. 59-96). When the first-mentioned document came to light in 1874 (see the *Fourth Report of the Royal Historical Manuscripts Commission*, p. 370), the same gentleman printed the concluding portion (that on the pages lost from the end of the other document), together with a list of the passages in which the two differ (see *Proc. Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, Oct., 1875, pp. 49-63).

Commerce in New England ; and a comand to all Masters of Shippes and their Company to bee sent and fixed by th^e Admirall upon the Mayne Mast of every Shipp, to be obedient hereunto."

Three weeks later, under date December 3, 1622, it is recorded that Dr. Barnabe Goche, the treasurer, had left town hurriedly for his house at Exeter, and that he had been authorized to take with him the company's common seal in order that he might be able to grant duly-sealed licences to fish to any of the west-country merchants and owners of ships who might desire to have such. Immediately following, comes this entry :—

"S^r Ferd. Gorges is desired to draw the forme of a letter to bee sent into the Country with the Proclamaçons, to this purpose :—That it is not the Councell's meaning to stay or hinder any from goeing to New England in fishing voyages, so as they will conforme themselves to such orders as are concluded and agreed on by the Councell and committed to Dr. Barn : Goche, Treâr, to whom they may repayre at Exon, in Devon, for their commissions in that behalfe."

This passage enables us to assign a precise date to the next document (No. VI.) preserved at Bristol, which (though undated) is unquestionably the letter Sir Ferdinando Gorges drew up in accordance with the desire of his colleagues. It runs :¹—

[VI.] *The Councell of New England their letter to the Mayor of Bristoll concerninge their intent to grant license to trade on those Coasts, notwithstanding his Ma^{ties} proclamaçon on their behalfe to the contrary.*

To the right Wooth
our very Loving frend,
the Major of the Citty
of Bristoll.

After o^r hartie comendaçons :—

Whereas his Ma^{ties} hath bine moved, vppon deliberat consideraçon and advice of the Lords of his M. privie Councell, by his Princely Proclamaçons (for the reasons therein expressed) strictly to prohibite any from frequenting or visiting the Coasts of New England or entermedling with the trade or comerce wth the Natives w^{thout} lycence of the Councell for those affaires, as by the said Proclamaçons doth and may appeare : But, for that it is not thereby intended to debar any Regular or Honest [person] from a free recourse to those p^{ts}, so farre forth as they will conforme themselves to those reasonable condiçons and iust and lawfull orders that are thought fitt to bee established for the saftie of the Inhabitants there already settled and better advancem^t of that Plantaçon : To wth end, the Councell for those affaires have directed their Comission to *Doctor Barnabe Goche*, Treasouro^r for that busines, and others therein mençoned, resident at Exon or thereabouts, to Graunt lycences to any desirous to goe as aforesaid : Whereof we haue bine moved to give you p^{ticuler} knowledge, that any that way affected may vnderstand whether to repaire for his dispatch, w^{thout} further trouble or charge : And for that cause wee pray you to make the same knowne to those of yo^r Towne

¹ *Book of Trade, 1598-1693, fo. 123.*

[who are] that way inclyned, wherein you shall doe them a Comon Curtesie. Soe shall you finde vs ready to requite the same : And thus, not doubting of your care herein, wee comitt you to Gods Holy Proteccon and ever rest

Yo^r very Loving frends,

E. GORGES,

FARD. GORG,

SAMUELL ARGALL,

Will Boles

[December 1622.]

It will be worth while here to refer to the terms of the royal proclamation,¹ bearing date November 6, 1622, copies of which were sent out (as appears) with the foregoing letter. It forbids all subjects, not adventurers, inhabitants or planters in New England, to visit its coasts or trade there, save by licence from the Council for New England or according to certain orders of the Privy Council for the benefit of the Virginia colony.

The next two documents (Nos. VII. and VIII.) belong almost certainly to the same period. They were evidently drawn up in order to induce colonists to go to the colony and capitalists to invest money therein. The second of the two is very brief and, judging from its heading, was probably intended as a sort of addendum to the longer document. Both are very curious. They run as follows:—

[VII.] *Reasons showing the Benefitt that may ensue to these his Mat^{ies} Realmes by settling of the Plantacon in New England, and especially to the Western pts of this Kingdome.*

1. ffirst, it enlargeth the bounds of his Ma^{ties} dominions and annexeth vnto his crowne one of the goodlyest Territories for Soyle, Havens, Harbours, and Habitable Islands that ever hath bine discovered by our nation.

2. Secondly, it will affoord a world of ymploym^t to many thousands of o^r Nation of all sorts of people whoe are (wee knowe) at this present ready to Starve for want of it.

3. Thirdly, it will thereby disburthen the Comon Wealth of a Multitude of Poore that are likelie daylie to increase, to the infinite trouble and prejudice of the publike state.

4. ffourthlie, it wilbee a marvellous increase to o^r Navigacon and a most excellent oportunitie for the breeding of marrin's, for that the vessels that are to trade thither, and soe from thence to their seu'all m^rketts, are to bee shippes of good burthen [and are] to goe well manned and thoroughly fortified for defence of themselves and their Consorts.

5. fifthlie, the Clyme being so temperate and helthfull as it is, it will, doubtlesse, afforde in shorte time a notable vent for o^r Clothes and other stuffs of that kinde, w^{ch} lyes now dead vpon o^r m^rchants handes.

¹ Printed in Rymer's *Foedera*, XVII. 416, and in Hazard's *Historical Collections*, I. 151.

² *Book of Trade*, 1598-1693, ff. 141-143.

6. Sixthly, wee shalbee able to furnishe our selves, out of o^r Owne Territories, wth many of those Comodities that now we are beholding to our Neighbo^rs for :—As, namely, Pitche, Tarre, Rosen, Flaxe, Hemp, Masts, Deales, Spruce, and other Timber of all Sortes ; Salte and Wine (w^{ch} twoe Comodities a lone coste this Kingdome many thousands by the yeere); beside Madder, Oade, and many other dyeng Rootes ; Stuffles and graines ; As, alsoe, seu'all ritche furies ; togeather wth one of the best fishing in the knowne p^{te} of the world ; and sundry sortes of Apothecary Druggs not yet spoken of.

7. Seaventhlie, for the difficultie of the Enterprise (thankes be to God), it is, in mann^r, already past ; for that the whole coast (wthin the lymitts graunted by his Ma^{tie} to the Councell for those affaires) is not onely discovered by their meanes, but many the principall Portes and Ilandes actually possessed by some of the present vndertakers : And whether this yeere hath bene sent, beside those that are now in p[']paraçon to goe wth the Governo^r, neere aboute 400 men, women, and children,¹ as alsoe 60 sayles of the best shippes of the Westerne p^{tes} that are onely gonne to ffishe and trade for ffuries.

8. Eightly, the Soyle being soe fertile and the Clyme soe helthfull, wth what content shall the p[']ticular p[']son ymploy himselfe there when hee shall finde that, for 12^l 10^s adventure, hee shalbee made Lord of 200 acres of Land, to him and his heires for ever : And, for the charge of transportaçon of himselfe, his familye, and Tenñts, hee shalbee allotted for eu[']y p[']son hee carries 100 acres more, at the rate of 5^s. for eu[']y C. acres chiefe rent to the Lords of the soyle in whose land he shall happen to sitt downe : And what Laborer soeu^r shall transporte himselfe thither at his owne charge to have the like proporçon of Land vpon the aforesaid condicions and bee sure of ymploym^t to his good content for his present maintenance.

9. Nynthly, yf hee bee a gentleman or p[']son of more Eminency whoe hath no greate Stocke to contynue his reputaçon here att home, how hap- pie shall hee bee yf hee can make but a matter of 100^l or 200^l providen- tially ymployed in the course of his transportaçon who shalbee therewth able to transporte himselfe, his familye, and necessarie provisions, and soe have allotted vnto him a quantety of Lande, wherewth hee shall not onely be able to lyve wthout scorne of his Malignors but in a plentiful and wor- thie manner, wth assurance to leave to [*sic*] good ffortunes to his poster- itie, yf hee but industriously bee carefull to make the best of his meanes.

10. Tenthlie, seeing that the Councell for those affaires have eu^r had, and still have, a speciall desire in this their Courses truely and wthout van- itie or ostentaçon to endeavo^r the good of the Countrie, for the better declaraçon and manifestaçon whereof they are freely content, and doe hartily wishe that eu[']y Country² wthin this Realme would be pleased to take a certeyne proporçon of Lande wthin their Lymitts, w^{ch} they shall have at 5^s. Rent the 100 Acres, wth Allowance of some 1000 acres wthout Rent to be ymployed for pious vses, whether they might send from yeere to yeere such of their people as might conveniently [be] spared and that are otherwise like to be burthensome vnto the State of the Comon Wealth ; w^{ch} may bee incorporated into one body and gov- erned vnder such officers and Majestrates as please them that send such

¹ If this statement is correct, the number of those who went to New England at this period must have been much greater than is commonly supposed.

² Undoubtedly *county* was intended.

as they ymploy, who shalbee strengthned wth such Liberties and imunities as shalbee thought fitt for the better advancem^t of that service : Soe may the County not onely from themselves [*sic*] to relieve the state of their poorer sorte of people but finde worthie ymploym^t for many younger brothers and brave gentlemen that nowe are ruined for want thereof.

[*II.*] Lastly, and above all the rest, by this opertunitye, there is noe Countie wthin this Realme but by this Course hath a speciall occasion and meanes presented vnto them to dedicate their best service to the God of Heaven and Earth, by endeavouring to advance his glory in seeking howe to settle the Christian faith in those hethenishe and desert places of the World ; w^{ch} whoe shall refuse to further, lett him vndergoe the blame thereof himselfe.

[*VIII.*] *Certeayne breif Reasons that are thought fitt to bee propounded to the Westerne Counties to move them to the furthering of the Plantation of New England.*

That, yf it shall seem sutable to the affeccons of the Countie in gen^{all}, the vndertakers are content to a lott a Competent proporcon of Land, both wthin the Mayne and vpon the sea coast, where the Governo^r shall settle such *Numbers* of people vnder Commaunders and Officers as th^t Countie shall thincke fitt to furnishe wth provisions and shipping necessary for such a work, and the profitts and benifitts of their ymploym^t to bee for ever appropriated to their vses that soe send them, for the good of that Countye.

Yf this Course bee not liked, that then whosoever in p^ticuler will send any number of tennts or servants of his owne, and soe bee att the Charge to furnishe and supplie them from time to time as cause shall require, hee shall, in like sorte, have a proporcon of Land allotted vnto him to make his best profit as hee shall thincke good.

But, for that neither of these may as yett p^advventure be held a fitt Course vntill a settled governem^t bee there established, then, for the present advancem^t thereof, lett eu^y free harte and generous spirit^t that have either religion or nobleness contribute towarde the present vndertaking now in hand in what kind of provision soever he is most willing or best able.

The last two of the Bristol documents (Nos. IX. and X.) are just a year later in date than the foregoing. They are also some six months later than the date (June 1623) of the last meeting of the Council recorded in the two documents preserved elsewhere and already alluded to. We have, therefore, no extraneous information to throw light on the circumstances under which these two concluding documents were drawn up ; but their object is self-evident. Clearly, the New England Company, finding that its schemes were not flourishing and that its colony was making little progress, decided to make one more effort to interest others, and especially those of the west-country, in its undertaking. With this end in view, the company persuaded the King to address a letter to the Earl of Pembroke, lord lieutenant of Somersetshire,¹ urgently desiring him to do

¹ William (Herbert) third earl of Pembroke, son of Henry the second earl, was born in 1580 and succeeded to the title in 1601. After the accession of James I., he took an

all in his power to further the interests of the colony in New England by bringing it under the notice of all residing in the county of Somerset or the city of Bristol who were at all likely to care to help in forwarding the work in hand. The earl was, no doubt, willing enough to comply with the King's request; for, as one of the original patentees, he was an interested party. The King's letter to him runs as follows:¹—

[IX.] *His Ma^{ties} Letter to the Lo: Lieutenant and his Deputies of the County of Somerset and City of Bristol to moue others to joyne in the Plantacon of New England*

James Rex.

To our righte trustie and right welbeloved Cosen and Councillor, Will^m Earle of Pembroke, Chamberleyn of o^r Household and our Lieutenant of o^r Countie of Som^rset and City of Bristol, and to o^r trusty and welbeloved the Deputy Lieutenants and Justices of Peace of the same County and City.

Right trustie and right welbeloved Cousen and Councelor, and trustie and welbeloved: Wee greete you well.

Wee have formerly graunted o^r Royall Charter for the Plantinge of a Collonie in the pte of New England, w^{ch} was not passed wthout due examinacon of the Propisicon then made and apparent assurance of good and worthie successe by that Plantacon for the advancem^t of Christian Religion and a good addicon, both of Honor and Profit, vnto o^r Kingdomes and people. And, because, vpon the tryall that hath beene made by some p^{sons} of qualitie that have bine Content, for the publike good, to adventure their private estates and fortunes, the benefitts and comodities founde in those p^{ts} and the good retornes that have beene made from thence do approve the vndertaking to be of such Publike Hopes and consequenc as wee thincke it verie worthie of o^r care and assistance in any thing that may give a real furtherance therevnto: And that, accordingly, wee have taken into o^r consideracon that so greate a worke cannot well bee mannadged to the best advantage wthout the helpe of more handes and strength then are ymployed in it: We have first thought vpon those Western Countries in respecte of the scituacon and conveniencie (both for receyving the Comodities from the Plantacon, sending such provisions and supplies thither as shalbee requisite, and takeing an accompte of both to be the most proper and fitt to have a share and interest in that business), Not doubting but y^t, being pursued wth an assistance from thence, the successe and retornes will be soe beneficiall

active part in public life. He took a great interest in all schemes of exploration and colonization and was among the promoters of the Virginia Company (1609), the Northwest Passage Company (1612), the New East India Company (1614), the Bermudas Company (1615), the New England Company (1620), and the Guiana Company (1627). By some he is supposed to have been the "Mr. W. H." to whom some of Shakespeare's sonnets are addressed. He died in 1630.

¹*Book of Trade, 1598-1693, ff. 144-145.*

as will not only y^a charge in a good measure of profit but drawe in other countries¹ voluntarylie to offer themselves p^{tn}'s therein: The Experience wee have had of your affecons to publique works doth likewise move vs the rather to invite you both by yo^r owne adventures and in-deavouring to move other Gentlemen and p^{sons} of quallitie and meanes in that Countye to joyne wth you in the advancemen^t of this Plantacon, w^{ch} wee doe not onely propound vnto you as a worke wherein the Publique hath a greate interest but wherein yo^r adventures are in all appearance like to bring you good retornes of profit, w^{ch} the Pattentees will more p^{ticular}ly make appeare vnto you by some Ministers of theirs appointed to attend you for that purpose. Wee hope wee shall not neede to vse much p^{sw}asion in this p^{ticular}, where both publique and private consideracons haue soe much force and yo^r good affecons soe ready to farther good workes. Nevertheles, wee doe expecte to receyve from you an accompte of yo^r proceedings and an intimacon thereby whome you finde ready and willing and whome not, that wee may [? take] such notice of both as there shalbee cause.

Given at O^r Pallace at Westminster, the Eighth day of December in the one and twentieth yeere of o^r Raigne of England, ffirance, and Ireland, and of Scotland the seaven and fifteth [1623].

The Earl of Pembroke promptly complied with the King's request. On December 13, he wrote to the mayor of Bristol (and, doubtless, to others within the county) enclosing a copy of the King's letter and requesting action to be taken thereon. The mayor no doubt communicated copies of both to the Society of Merchant Venturers, which accounts for their appearance among the Society's records. The earl's letter follows :²—

[X.] *The Lo : Lieutenant his Letter to the Mayor of Bristoll, informeing him of his Ma^{ties} letter, and withall desireinge notice of their resolucon, whereby hee may giue accompt thereof to his Ma^{tie} when hee shall be required.*

After my verie hartie comendacons.

Whereas it hath pleased his Ma^{tie} to take into his Royall Consideracon the setling and advancem^t of the Plantacon of *New England*, and to that purpose haveing directed his gracious l^{res} vnto my selfe and my Deputie Lieutennts, I have thought fitt to send you herein closed a Coppie of the said Letters; to the end that, being p^{ticular}ly acquainted wth his Ma^{ties} pleasure and desire therein, you may as well be carefull to give them their due respecte, as alsoe th^t you may thereby knowe the better howe to order the course of yo^r proceedings to his Ma^{ties} content and satisfaccon: Wherein I should bee willing to further yo^r intencons wth my best advice and p^{sw}asions, as well for the profit w^{ch} may accrew vnto this Kingdome by soe beneficiall a Trade as this is likelie to bee, as alsoe for the p^{ticular} Comodity w^{ch} may thereby much advantage the City of Bristoll. But you shall receyve such ample direccons from his Mat^s l^{res} touching the whole course of this busines that I shall nowe onely desire you to bee carefull that you give mee notice of yo^r p^{ceed}ings and resolucons herein, that I may bee able to give an accompt thereof

¹ Without doubt *counties* is meant here also.

² *Book of Trade, 1598-1693*, f. 145.

whensoever it shall please his Ma^{tie} to require it at my hands. And thus,
bidding you verie hartlie farewell, I rest

Your Loving friend,

PEMBROOKE.

Whitehall, this xiiijth

Decemb. 1623.

This is the last of the ten documents preserved at Bristol, so we are left in ignorance as to what steps (if any) the Bristol merchants took in the matter.

At the date of this last document (December 1623), the New England Company was already practically in a moribund condition, though it continued to exist for twelve years longer. Of its proceedings for the next eight years, we have no record; but the events of the closing years of its existence are briefly recorded in the last of the three documents already noticed as existing elsewhere. This is another volume of minutes preserved in the Public Record Office,¹ and is certainly not an original document, being probably a copy of about the same date as the earlier volume of minutes also preserved there. It contains the minutes of twenty-two meetings of the Council held between November 4, 1631, and November 1, 1638—four meetings in 1631, ten in 1632, six in 1635 and two in 1638.² There is nothing to explain what has become of the minutes of the meetings held during the eight years and a half which elapsed between June 29, 1622 (when the first of these documents ends) and November 4, 1631 (when this document commences).

The chief business transacted at the fourteen meetings held during 1631 and 1632 was the dividing up of the company's territories among the individual members and the issuing of patents therefor. Of the proceedings during 1633 and 1634, we know nothing; but, in 1635, the company decided to surrender its charter back to the King, having largely failed to carry out its great schemes of colonization, and finding itself powerless to maintain its rights or to preserve order within its territories. The six meetings held in 1635 were chiefly concerned with the details of the surrender. The two meetings held three years later, in 1638, were called to close up the affairs of the company; and, with them, its existence came to an end.

MILLER CHRISTY.

¹ *State Papers, Colonial Series*, Vol. IV., No. 29. It has been printed by Dr. Deane in the *Proc. Am. Antig. Soc.*, April, 1867, pp. 97-131.

² It is worthy of note that, although the Council for New England was supposed to have been "established at Plymouth," all its recorded meetings were held in London.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A History of Greece for High Schools and Academics. By GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD, Ph.D., Instructor in the History of Greece and Rome in Harvard University. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1899. Pp. xiii, 381.)

THE real test of a school history is use in the class. If the book in the hands of a good teacher interests pupils, and gives notions of the subject that are correct as far as they go, and so far as young minds can comprehend the complex life of a people, then the book is a good one. Whether it is good in that sense is very hard for one who is not actually teaching such classes to say beforehand. The volume named above receives a distinct character from the fact that in it are combined three traits, which, when thus combined, should go far to make it good in the sense described. These are, first, close adherence to primary sources; second, free use of good translations of ancient Greek authors; and third, illustrations that are for the most part excellent.

It is clear that the author is not merely a compiler. He looks at the subject for himself and knows whereon his belief rests; this, of itself, gives a certain freshness to his pages. A high degree of originality is not to be expected; and occasionally one may question whether, in adopting a view that differs from the traditional one, the author has given due weight to all the evidence. The complete explaining away of what is known as the Dorian migration raises that question distinctly. But the merit of Dr. Botsford's general method outweighs an occasional error in application. The use made of translations from Greek is well exemplified in the account of the battle of Salamis, where Aischylos, in a good verse translation, is allowed to tell about all that is told. One could hardly do better. In like manner good versions from Thukydides, Pindar, Aristophanes, Herodotos, are pressed into service, with excellent effect. Something like direct contact with the sources, and with a great literature, is thus secured. If such pages are a little less easy to question a class upon in the old-fashioned way, the gain is nevertheless apparent. The illustrations are largely process cuts from recent and good photographs, with numerous outline maps and plans. Colors are so applied on the maps as to make the main facts clear, without excess of detail. By such a map the distribution of "Mycenaean" civilization, as revealed by remains, is clearly exhibited; so of the Greek settlements in the age of colonization; two maps present Greece and Persia at the time of their great conflict; others are no less good. Some of the cuts from

photographs are too small and indistinct to have any value, but most are good, some strikingly so. The frontispiece is a view of the Athenian Acropolis, in its present condition, taken from nearly east, with the gardens along the Ilissos in the foreground and the columns of the Olympieion at the left. Akrokorinthos, the fort at Phyle, modern Sparta with Mt. Taygetos, are excellent views. Ancient portraits and some famous pieces of sculpture are also shown.

Of course, there are things to criticize. It is not possible to give children any notion of early Greek philosophy, and one had better not attempt it. Some phrases seem to imply a lower idea of the intellectual level of the Greek poets than the author probably intended; to say of Isokrates (p. 290), "His literary style lacked freshness and vigor, but was the perfection of art," implies a false, though common, notion of what constitutes art; on p. 179 the plan of the "Acropolis of Athens" is a partially inaccurate plan of the whole city; the grave *stele* on p. 122 is older than the battle of Marathon. This last fact Dr. Botsford doubtless knew; but the only hint that the monument cannot represent a "warrior of Marathon" is in the quotation marks enclosing the title. But these are minor blemishes. The book on the whole lays the stress where it should be laid, on "the character and achievements of the great men," "the development of the social and political life," "the spirit of the civilization." As helps in the use of the work are given marginal topics and references to Greek writers; "Sources" and "Modern Authorities" are grouped at the end of each chapter; and in a final chapter, after a brief summary of each period, are some examples of outline studies of special topics, suggestive hints for many similar studies, and a list of events in chronological order. Last is an index, in which proper names are accented.

T. D. GOODELL.

The Medieval Empire. By HERBERT FISHER, Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford. (London: Macmillan and Co. 1898. Two vols., pp. viii, 348; vii, 308.)

NOT since the first appearance of Mr. James Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire* has any one attempted to give in English, or in fact in any other language, so complete and careful a study of the great medieval institution as is here offered. Mr. Fisher deprecates, in almost too modest language, any intention of "trespassing" or "infringing" upon the field of his predecessor, but that field is certainly large enough for two laborers whose methods and aims are so different. Bryce's work was an essay, following a generally chronological scheme and aiming to give a consistent picture of the singular institution it describes. Fisher has discarded the chronological method. He aims at no dramatic consistency and he is not concerned with any theory as to the precise nature of the imperial system. Bryce attempted to cover the whole history of the Empire, even adding a chapter on the present utterly distinct institu-

tion of the modern German imperial state. Fisher limits himself quite strictly to its heroic period, the only period in which it deserves any careful study as an empire, the four centuries and a half from Charlemagne to the death of Frederic II.

The method employed throughout is the topical. Each chapter has a certain unity of its own and contributes to the whole in proportion to its own value as a special treatise. The effect is inevitably to produce more or less of repetition and hence of confusion. One may well question, for example, whether the great figure of Barbarossa would not have stood out in clearer relief as an exponent of the imperial theory if he could have been dealt with by himself, under one point of view, instead of appearing as he does here in a dozen different places and in connection with as many different sets of ideas.

Clearness is, of all qualities in the historian, the one most imperatively demanded of every one who touches, no matter how, upon the medieval empire; for of all human institutions none, it may safely be said, is more confusing to the modern reader. Bryce sought to make his subject clear by dwelling on the unities of the Empire; Fisher seeks the same end by bringing out a mass of detail and leaving the final impression to shape itself as it will. He gives up almost entirely any narration of events and tries only to account for the institutional ideas of which the events were but the outward expression.

This method is, so far, heartily to be commended. The problem of the book is to determine, as far as may be done, what the Empire meant as distinguished from the several lesser sovereignties included under it. This problem is to be solved by examining what the emperors actually did and what they tried to do in their imperial capacity. An emperor was ordinarily first a German territorial prince, then a king in Germany, then a king in Italy and a king in Burgundy and he might add any number of lesser dignities—yet no more false definition of his empire could be given than that it was the sum of these several powers. The Empire was an abstraction, a metaphysical entity quite independent of all realities, existing even when there was no emperor, and serving its highest purposes when it appealed to its ideal quality, not when it was doing the most to convert the ideal into a reality. Mr. Fisher is plainly quite conscious of these curious paradoxes in the institution he is studying. They appear from point to point, if one has the eye to pick them out; but it requires a good deal of previous knowledge to steer one's way through the apparent contradictions they suggest.

The fourteen chapters are of uneven excellence and value. The most important are those relating to administration, legislation and finance, and this chiefly because it is along the lines of splendid failure in these respects that the strictly imperialist tendencies of the Middle Ages are most marked. Quite characteristic is the treatment of legislation in Germany where, after sketching at length the attempts of the crown to create a sphere of action for itself, our author closes with a series of paragraphs showing the absence of such effective law-making and law-en-

forcing as might have secured to the kingdom a real control of its own resources. The final comparison with the brand-new, ready-made kingdom of Hungary well illustrates how totally different was the problem in a nation where there were no traditional units of public life. We cannot agree with Fisher's description of the origin of the electoral college as it appears in the *Sachsenspiegel*. To call Eike's account the "literary fancy of an obscure Saxon lawyer" is to ascribe too much importance to the personality of any one writer. Indeed this account itself is too "literary" to be quite sound; after all nothing except the holding of the great "ministerial" offices can plausibly account for the prestige which first brought together and then maintained these seven men as the representatives of the vast body of the "vorsten alle."

In the chapters upon Italian affairs we see the Empire more nearly in its imperial character, or, to put it more precisely, as a German power expanding itself over Italy, and using the imperial title to defend its aggressions there. The sketch of imperial legislation in Italy is instructive down to and including the attempts of Barbarossa, but grows confusing when it reaches Frederic II. His work in his own *regno* has but little analogy with even the possibilities of what might have been done in other parts of Italy. As a legislator Frederic was a Sicilian and was wise enough to know it. Doubtless he aimed to destroy the local powers throughout the peninsula, but that was a military and political rather than a legislative object, and it is confusing to represent this man, whose every instinct as a ruler came from his Italian origin and his hereditary kingdom, as an illustration of a policy connected in any organic way with the history of the "Empire."

The chapter on the imperial administration in Italy is not very satisfying. Its point of view is correct, but it does not give us quite enough of a rather abundant material on the attempts of successive rulers to place effective representatives at the head of towns or districts for administrative purposes. Here was the real *crux* of the Italian problem. As Mr. Fisher shows in many places, the Italians were curiously ready to pay moderate taxes and to admit foreigners—Germans as well as others—to executive office; but they demanded the right to define their taxation and to choose the officers themselves.

As regards imperial finances, the result of Chapter VI. is summed up in the phrase "it is needless to add that there was no general imperial taxation"—a very negative result indeed but altogether justified by the facts. This chapter deals wholly with Germany and is concerned therefore with the purely royal German aspect of the Empire. The comparison with England is instructive in more ways than the author seems to have intended.

Mr. Fisher's method of presentation may, perhaps, fairly be called "broad." The book, in spite of its somewhat repellant technical aspect, has a distinct literary flavor. Like most of its predecessors, it approaches the Empire as if its centralizing features were the most significant, and then, as it were, apologizes for finding them so little impressive.

Yet this negative result is valuable as showing once more and by a convincing process that the real history of the Empire is to be found in its parts and in their continuous resistance to the encroachments of a central power which seemed to them an intrusion upon their traditional rights.

The outward appearance of these volumes is beyond praise, but there are some curious blemishes of proof-reading. That Mr. Fisher "knows German" as that phrase is understood in England, we do not doubt, but the pages fairly bristle with inaccuracies of German quotation. On page 165 of Vol. I. we note in a space of three lines five errors which can be due only to ignorance of the language. A truly classical illustration is on page 181 of Vol. I., where a certain nominee to an imperial deputyship appears as "Frederick of Statthaltern!" Latin quotations on the other hand are eminently accurate.

Saladin and the Fall of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. By STANLEY LANE-POOLE, M.A. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898. Pp. xxiv, 416.)

SINCE the time of Scott, at least, the name of Saladin has been familiar to all lovers of English literature, and it is indeed "singular," as our author remarks in his preface, "that, so far as English literature is concerned, the character and history of Saladin should have been suffered to remain where Scott left them seventy years ago, and that no complete life of the celebrated adversary of Richard Coeur de Lion should have been written in our language." It was a happy thought to include a life of Saladin in the "Heroes of the Nations" series, for his was the life of a great and noble man, and at least some knowledge of his early career, his education and development is necessary, if we wish to understand the events which culminated in the tragedy of the loss of the city, and the fall of the kingdom, of Jerusalem. The division of the Seljuk empire, which followed the death of Melik Shah in 1092, had given the Crusaders a chance to get a foot-hold in Syria. How precarious a foot-hold they had actually secured we can realize when we remember the fact, pointed out by our author (p. 26), that at the birth of Saladin "the great cities Aleppo, Damascus, Hamah, Emesa, were still in Moslem hands, and were never taken by the Christians, though their reduction must certainly have been possible at more than one crisis." It was inevitable that, as soon as the western parts of the Seljuk empire were re-united in one strong hand, the Christian possessions in Syria should be in great peril. In this book we read how the process of reconquest and reunion, begun early in the twelfth century, and continued by Nureddin, was completed by Saladin. This great leader, with Fatimide Egypt under his sway, completely hemmed in, on the land side, the narrow domains of the Christians, and, when he was ready, attacked them with crushing force.

In an interesting preface our author gives some account of the princi-

pal authorities on whom he has relied. He speaks very highly of Marin's *Histoire de Saladin, Sulthan d'Égypte et de Syrie*, which was published in 1758. On page xv. is a list of the principal authorities. It would have been well to include in this list the names of all the books which are referred to in the body of the work. A study of this list, and the titles mentioned in the foot-notes, will show that the author, while not claiming to have exhausted the literature of the subject, has made use of the most important sources.

The book is divided into five parts. Part I.—Introductory—is divided into four chapters, entitled respectively: Saladin's World; The First Crusade, 1098; The Harbinger, 1127; and the Fall of Edessa, 1127-1144. In these chapters is given a rapid and valuable survey of the civilization of the Seljuks and of the organization of their state, with most appreciative notices of Melik Shah, "the noblest of the Seljuk emperors," and of the great vizier, Nizam-el-mulk. The author calls especial attention to the great zeal of the Seljuks for the promotion of learning, and to the fact that their invasion of southwestern Asia created a revival of the Mohammedan faith. A rapid sketch is given of the disruption of the Seljuk empire, the First Crusade, the rise of Zengy and the fall of Edessa.

Part II.—Egypt, 1138-1174—is also divided into four chapters, entitled respectively: Saladin's Youth, 1138-1164; The Conquest of Egypt, 1164-1169; Vezir of Egypt, 1169-1171; Saladin at Cairo, 1171-1173. Our author knows his Cairo well, and his account of the city in the days of Saladin is particularly interesting.

The scope of Part III.—Empire, 1174-1186—is sufficiently indicated by the titles of the four chapters, which are respectively: The Conquest of Syria, 1174-1176; Truces and Treaties, 1176-1181; The Conquest of Mesopotamia, 1181-1183; Damascus, 1183-1186.

Part IV.—The Holy War, 1187-1191—has five chapters, entitled respectively: The Battle of Hittin, 1187; Jerusalem Regained, 1187; The Rally at Tyre, 1187-1188; The Battle of Acre, 1189; The Siege of Acre, 1189-1191. Whatever may be thought of the killing of Reginald of Châtillon, and the knights of the two military orders after the battle of Hittin, there can be only one opinion of the magnanimity of Saladin's treatment of those who were in Jerusalem when it surrendered to him. His conduct was in striking contrast to that of the leaders and men of the First Crusade. In the chapter on the Rally at Tyre the author well points out what a difference it would have made in the subsequent history, if the Moslems had captured Tyre, but in view of the strength of the city's position, and all the other circumstances, it is doubtful if Saladin could have captured it, especially after the reverse of December 29, 1197 (p. 240), before reinforcements could arrive from the West.

Part V.—Richard and Saladin, 1191-1192—brings the story down nearly to the end of Saladin's life, in chapters entitled respectively: The Loss of Acre, 1191; The Coast March, August-September, 1191;

In sight of Jerusalem, September, 1191—July, 1192; The Last Fight at Joppa, 1192. At last Acre was in the hands of the Christians, but the rest of the story of the Third Crusade is not, for them, a glorious one. There were exhibitions of bravery the most heroic; but how about the slaughter of the hostages at Acre, the vacillation of the Crusaders near Jerusalem, and the truce giving to the Christians such paltry returns for all the blood and treasure which Christendom had spent since 1187?

Chapter XXII.—At Rest—gives an account of the last few months of the great sultan's life, tells of the fatal illness which carried him off in 1193, and gives a summary of his character. We cannot wonder that this noble man was loved by his people, and that his great qualities should have been admired by those to whom his religion was, as it were, an invention of the Evil One.

Chapter XXIII.—Saladin in Romance—is extremely interesting, especially the author's remarks on *The Talisman* and Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*.

Pages 403–416 are occupied by an index, which seems carefully made, though one or two minor omissions have been noted. The tables of the Dynasties of Western Asia in the Twelfth Century, The Family of Saladin, Kings of Jerusalem, Princes of Antioch, and Counts of Tripolis, and the Great Lords of Palestine, will be found useful for reference. The illustrations are both interesting and valuable, while the maps and plans are a very welcome addition to the book. The book is attractively gotten up and is written in an attractive style.

Stanley Lane-Poole has rendered valuable service in his different works by presenting various phases of Oriental history and life in such a way as to interest even those to whom such subjects are ordinarily a sealed book. He has put English and American readers under a still further obligation by his excellent life of the great Moslem hero Saladin.

J. R. JEWETT.

The Great Lord Burghley: A Study in Elizabethan Statecraft. By MARTIN A. S. HUME. (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1898. Pp. xv, 511.)

THE history of the reign of Queen Elizabeth is being steadily rewritten. In no field have the researches of modern investigators been more fruitful. The secondary writers who for so long have copied from each other are thoroughly discredited; it is no longer necessary to rely upon their main authorities, the ignorant annalists and memoir-writers of the time; the picturesque details of scandal-mongers are being tested and rejected; and contemporary controversy is no longer regarded as possessing historical authority. This is the result of the arduous work which is being done in the examination, publication and calendaring of documents. The *Calendars of State Papers*, Domestic, Foreign and Spanish, and the *Reports* of the Historical Manuscripts Commission have already thrown much light upon the dark places, and the specialist investigators, like

Mr. Oppenheim and Mr. Julian Corbett, have done their work directly from original and unpublished sources. It is not until the trained and expert editors of documents have completed their labors that the true history of the reign of Elizabeth, based on research rather than gossip, can be written, but in the meanwhile it is a duty to recognize the services of these trained editors, not only when they bring out ponderous volumes for the use of scholars, but also when they make known in more accessible form the first-fruits of their researches. Major Martin Hume is not only a learned editor of the Calendar of Elizabethan State Papers, but he has also shown himself, both in his *Courtships of Queen Elizabeth* published in 1896, and in his more recent *The Great Lord Burghley*, to be a most competent and interesting writer of history. The editor of documents when he takes to writing history shows a familiarity with his material that other secondary writers can never hope to possess; he moves with a certainty that others cannot rival; and his statements can be received with more perfect confidence than those of others not similarly trained.

One of the points which is being most clearly proven by modern research is that the policy of the reign of Elizabeth was most distinctly the policy of the Queen herself. Major Hume showed this clearly in his *Courtships of Queen Elizabeth* and has emphasized it in his recent volume. But although the Queen was never the slavish follower of any of her advisers, she yet relied more implicitly upon William Cecil, Lord Burghley, than on any other statesman. Burghley never filled the place of a Richelieu; he was never permitted to have complete control of all the threads of policy; he was always the servant and never the dictator of his royal mistress's wishes; his plans were sometimes followed and sometimes rejected; and Elizabeth was as completely master as Louis XIV. was a century later in France. But though Burghley was no Richelieu, he was yet the friend and adviser upon whom Elizabeth chiefly relied, and although she listened occasionally to Leicester and others, at times of crisis she generally heeded the counsels of her most trusted minister. The ministerial life of Burghley is not the whole history of the policy of England while he remained in office, but it may be said to represent its positive side. The attitude of "the Philipians" and of Leicester and Essex was more often dictated by opposition to Burghley than by any constructive ideas and the Queen was therefore wont to recur again and again to the system of Burghley whenever the opportunist ideas of his opponents showed their lack of consistency. Burghley often lost heart at the seeming fickleness of Elizabeth; his scheme of policy of playing off the different combinations of Spain, France and Scotland, and of the malcontents in these countries against each other, so as to prevent any powerful concentration of force against England, was often thwarted by the Queen's indulgence in her personal fancies, or her over-confidence in pledging herself to some particular combination; and Burghley more than once despaired of success, though he never forgot his loyal duty to the Queen's commands. The history of Burghley is, therefore, not the complete history of the foreign policy of the reign of Elizabeth, yet an

examination of his views and ideas offers the best basis for following out its changes. A knowledge of Burghley's political career gives the key for the right understanding of Elizabeth's policy, and it is from this point of view that Major Martin Hume has composed his last volume. He gives as a subtitle "A Study in Elizabethan Statecraft," which in a few words admirably describes the purport of his book. Elizabeth's statecraft, with its dissimulation and constant doubling and redoubling upon its traces, with its spies and its lies, with its political wooings and encouragement of piracy, in all its strength and in all its weakness, was forced upon her by her position. The peace of England, while other nations were being torn by civil war, and the salvation of England, when the storm finally burst, were the aims of the Elizabethan statecraft. It is easy to condemn on moral grounds the system she pursued, but it is difficult to overestimate the importance of its success. Burghley had as much at heart as his mistress the strengthening and the salvation of England, and he showed himself, next to the Queen, the greatest master of statecraft that England has ever produced.

Major Hume has deliberately written a study of Burghley as a statesman and a diplomatist, rather than a personal biography. Nevertheless he has brought out clearly the part of Burghley's biography which was necessary in order to make clear his career as a statesman and politician. He passes but lightly over his hero's early days, and touches upon his career during the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary only enough to explain his attitude towards religion and politics during the reign of Elizabeth. It is after the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth that his task became difficult. Up to that time the accessible material is scanty and easily handled; after that time the material is so great that the biographer runs the risk of being swamped. This was the fate of the best-known predecessor of Major Hume as a biographer of Burghley. The monumental work of Dr. Nares, who was at one time Regius Professor of Modern History at Oxford, is now chiefly remembered from Macaulay's brilliant essay, for which it afforded the pretext and in which Dr. Nares is held up in jocose fashion as a monster of dullness and long-windedness. Dr. Nares's book is by no means as bad reading as Macaulay pretended and contains a vast amount of interesting matter, but its ponderous form and old-fashioned style have prevented it from receiving its fair degree of commendation. Burghley is himself answerable for the length of time that has elapsed before he has found an adequate biographer. His inveterate habit of writing, during the forty years in which he held high office, first as Secretary of State, and then as Lord High Treasurer, together with the fact that the bulk of the immense mass of his writings has been preserved, has resulted in the existence of a greater amount of material than exists for the biography of any English statesman until the time of Gladstone. The mere reading of so much material is a sufficiently arduous task and to extract from it an intelligible résumé of Burghley's tortuous policy might well appear almost impossible. It is only by resolutely keeping his mind fixed upon the knowledge that he was writing

an essay on Elizabethan statecraft and not a history of Burghley's policy, that Major Hume has been able to make a readable book, and it should be said in conclusion that his book is eminently readable. Nowhere else can be found so clear an exposition of Elizabeth's foreign policy, and a careful study of it serves to make intelligible and consequent the various volumes of the *Calendars* of the Elizabethan State Papers, Foreign and Domestic, which appear at regular intervals in the magnificent series that the experts of the English Record Office are steadily producing.

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

The Building of the British Empire: The Story of England's Growth from Elizabeth to Victoria. By ALFRED THOMAS STORY. ["The Story of the Nations."] (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1898. Two vols., pp. xvi, 391; viii, 468.)

The Growth of Empire: A Handbook to the History of Greater Britain. By ARTHUR W. JOSE. (Sydney: Angus and Robertson. 1898. Pp. xii, 444.)

THE history of the British Empire, as opposed to the history of England or of Great Britain or of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, has of recent years received much greater attention than formerly. It is beginning to be seen that there was a very essential likeness between the growth of that empire in America, in Asia and in Africa, and that the history of the British colonies and dependencies can best be grasped by considering them as a whole instead of separately. No one would deny the excellence of the work done by such men as Mr. Theal in working out the details of the development of the British power in a particular area, and it is only after such specialist work has been adequately completed that the historian of the British Empire can attempt his larger task. The conception of the Empire, as apart from the mother country, and of its development as the most significant effect of the policy of the mother country, was the theme of Sir John Seeley's *Expansion of England*, but Seeley himself only indicated what had to be done and produced a stimulating rather than a definitive work. It is probably to the influence of Seeley and of the school of imperialist politicians in England that is chiefly due the number of small books on the history of the British Empire that have appeared during the last few years.

One of the worst specimens of this literature is Mr. Story's *Building of the British Empire*, which fills two volumes of the "Story of the Nations" series. It is a particularly unfavorable specimen of the sort of popular literature which is still allowed to pass current as history. The author, though he has attained considerable success in other branches of literature, has not the faintest idea of writing history. In his chapters on India, for instance, he quotes as his main authorities, without ever mentioning volume and page, Mill and Green and *mirabile dictu*

even Hume ! The history of such a writer cannot, of course, be taken seriously, for he has no sense of the value of authorities and no idea of the way to handle them. Mr. Story says in his preface that he has "had recourse, as far as possible, to the best sources," and since those best sources seem from his citations to be Hume's *History of England*, Robertson's *History of America*, Grahame's *History of the United States*, *A Popular History of America* and Mill's *History of British India*, there is no more to be said. Mr. Story's literary style is no more commendable than his use of authorities, as may be seen by the following passage, taken at random : "There are those who imagine that it is possible to stay ; who would arrest the stars in their grand ecliptic roll, and have the solemn march of the ages lag to the tune of their buttery-hatch. They would still keep the good new wine in the old bottles, like the fond old grandmother by the ingle-nook, even at the risk of ruining the whole vintage. Best lay the old tackle aside and go to work like thrifty husbandmen and make fresh bottles, and so preserve the bubbling must to make the evening glad" (Vol. II., p. 453). This is the sort of stuff that abounds in Mr. Story's pages.

Much more adequate, far better written, better proportioned and more carefully arranged than Mr. Story's pretentious work is the little volume by Mr. Jose on *The Growth of the Empire*. Apart from the evidence it gives of careful study of good authorities Mr. Jose's book has the special interest of being written by an Australian and published in the capital city of the oldest Australian colony. This fact gives special interest to the chapter on Australia, but it is fair to state that the Australian scholar does not lose his sense of proportion and pays as careful attention to Canada, South Africa and India, as to his own part of the world. After reading the turgid pages of Mr. Story it is a relief to turn to the simple directness of Mr. Jose, and it is a pleasure for a critic, who hates to condemn, to be able to conclude after words of condemnation of one book with hearty commendation of another.

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

Memoirs of Lady Russell and Lady Herbert, 1623-1723, compiled from original family documents by Lady STEPNEY. (London : Adam and Charles Black. New York : The Macmillan Co. 1898. Pp. 244.)

No book can be uninteresting or valueless which relates to Lady Russell, whom the poet Rogers calls "that sweet saint who sat by Russell's side," or to Lady Herbert, who accomplished in real life the pretty achievement with which Julia Marlowe is now charming her audiences, namely, the rescue of a husband from prison by exchange of garments. The book before us, with all its obvious limitations, contains many interesting letters and some good points. The drawback to its usefulness lies in the very fact announced in the preliminary note that its narrative was "compiled from original family documents by Lady Stepney, four generations

ago." These documents are all modernized as to the spelling; a fact which would alone betray the obvious truth that they were put into their present shape at a time when literary standards were not what they now are, when the most conscientious historians felt perfectly free to modify and rearrange all manuscripts reproduced; and this without deliberate intent to deceive, but simply from want of enlightened historical conscientiousness. We know by the spelling that not a page or even sentence of the letters in this volume appears precisely in its original form; and how much further modification they have undergone there is no means of telling. We certainly cannot summon back Lady Stepney through four generations to question her, and the freedom with which she creates dialogue, while it may give vivacity to the work as historic fiction, not only impairs but almost annihilates its value as history.

Take, for instance, the scene (p. 221) where Lady Herbert is looking for her husband on the battle-field: "Lady Herbert had dismounted, and was picking her cautious and shuddering steps over the obstructed ground. She made up to one of the women [who were robbing the dead] and asked if she could tell where the King's Guards had fought. 'Aye, gossip,' answered she. 'Be'est thou come arifling too? But i' faith thou'rt of the latest. The swashing gallants were as fine as peacocks; but we've stript their bravery, I trow. Yonder stood the King's tent; and yonder about do most of them lie; but thou'lt scarce find a lading for thy cattle now.' " It needs no argument to show that these remarks are a matter of pure invention. Even had Lady Herbert been a modern newspaper reporter, she would scarcely have stopped at such a time to make a memorandum of the precise words of this human vulture; and this single instance is enough to vitiate the historical value of every conversation in the book. It would be easy to multiply such passages.

Who reported, for instance, the talk of the old forester, at whose house Lady Herbert had hoped to find her husband? "'Alas, Lady,' said the old man, 'I think there be some false heart that hath betrayed him; or at least a shrewd mischance must have discovered his retreat to the rebels. For at yester eventide we saw troopers passing between the trees, and soon they fell into the path leading towards the cottage. My son Ned (mine honoured master's godson, so please your Ladyship) ran through the bushes to get before them and give the alarm; but he was too late. They had already seized upon the cottage, and Sir Edward was in their hands. When Ned ventured near, they let fly some bullets at him, and one took the tuft off his cap. As soon as they departed, we ran to the cottage, but found all gone.' 'Did you note which way they took?' said Lady Herbert. 'We were all on the watch, so please your Ladyship, but durst not go near.' "

The two narratives differ so much in their manner of execution that they might almost have proceeded from different hands. The first includes more than 200 pages and is mainly documentary. The second has but 36 pages and offers no documents at all, consisting wholly of very animated narrative. Full justice is done, in this last, to the touch-

ing incident of the discovery of Sir Edward Herbert's body by the perseverance of his little grayhound when he was left for dead on the field at Naseby; nor would one wish to lose from literature the letter of Lady Russell to her husband, dated September 25, 1682, when she wrote "I know nothing new since you went; but I know as certainly as I live that I have been for twelve years as passionate a lover as ever woman was, and hope to be so, one twelve years more; happy still and entirely yours, R. Russell" (p. 41). Less than a year after she was sitting by his side at the bar of the Old Bailey, and when she had left him for the last time, the night before his execution, he said to Burnet, "The bitterness of death is passed."

THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

Autobiography and Political Correspondence of Augustus Henry, Third Duke of Grafton. Edited, with an Introductory Memoir, by Sir WILLIAM R. ANSON, Bart, LL.D., Warden of All Souls College, Oxford. (London: John Murray. 1898. Pp. xli, 417.)

THIS autobiography was written in 1804 and 1805, and it deals especially with the period of English history from the Peace of Paris in 1763 to the opening of the French Revolutionary Wars in 1793 and 1795. Augustus Henry, third Duke of Grafton, was born October 9, 1735. He came into public life as a Whig, a supporter of Newcastle and Pitt, upon the eve of the accession of George III. He was prominent and influential in party and public affairs from that time until the coalition ministry of Fox and North in 1783. For several years later he was an interested bystander in politics, in close touch and correspondence with the leading characters of the time. Consequently the story of his mature and official life brings into view one of the most interesting and stormy periods of English history. The volume before us includes the political correspondence of Grafton, covering this period, with Pitt, Conway, Rockingham, Camden, Fox and others. Grafton was not a statesman of the first grade and his name is not a prominent one in English history; but his noble rank, his sense of public duty, his political associations and correspondence, and the high official positions which he held, make this candid story of his own life, with the valuable correspondence which it reveals, a volume of first importance to the student of history.

Sir William R. Anson, Warden of All Souls College, Oxford, the editor of the letters and memoir, writes a valuable introduction which contains "a short account of the duke's career in relation to the history of parties during his time." This introduction outlines the duke's public career, giving a summary of the great parliamentary measures and policies in which he was engaged. Sir William's task naturally leads him to discuss briefly the established principles of the English Constitution in the eighteenth century. This eighteenth-century constitution "did not involve the withdrawal of the King from all control over the

policy of the country." The editor points out how the first Hanoverian kings lost this control, and how a minister "who knew the processes of corruption held strings by which he could make the House of Commons dance to any tune he pleased;" and how it was that it seemed necessary for Newcastle to "keep a majority" while Pitt used it for schemes of statesmanship. In Grafton's opinion George III. departed from the sound constitutional principles of the Revolution in three respects: "In the exclusion of the Whig families; in the assumption of personal control in the choice and control of his ministers; and in his want of loyalty to those who were his ministers for the time being." Sir William Anson briefly reviews these charges and proceeds to consider Grafton in his relation to parties and ministries under Bute and Grenville and subsequent ministries.

This introduction of the editor gives the best possible brief review of Grafton's career and of the chief public subjects with which his autobiography has to do. Grafton's attitude toward the Rockingham Whigs and their policy, and toward the American policy of Grenville and Townshend; his appointment to office by Pitt, together with Shelburne, Camden and Bristol; their alliance with the Bedford Whigs and its significance; Grafton's own ministry and its conduct toward the Middlesex election and toward American taxation and the East India Company; his four years' service in the office of Lord Privy Seal, from which he resigned in 1774; his career as a member of the opposition under North; Junius's denunciation of Grafton and the latter's relation to Temple, who supplied Junius with material and inspired his invective; Grafton's return to power under Rockingham in 1782;—these events in the career of the duke are all recounted and their significance is indicated in the editorial introduction. At the junction of Fox and North Grafton ends his political career and goes to his country pursuits, which always had for him a strong attraction. "This want of genuine interest in politics," says Sir William Anson, "coupled with his want of clearness in forming and firmness in enforcing his convictions, combine to make him the ineffectual figure which he appears in our history. . . . In later years he became an ally of Fox, from his deepening sense of the horrors of war and his strong dislike to the repressive measures which were thought to be necessary safeguards against the revolutionary propaganda of France. By a strange revolution of feeling and opinion Grafton, who opened his career as an opponent of the peace of Paris, a devoted supporter of the bold imperialism of the elder Pitt, ends his autobiography with regrets that public feeling cannot be brought around to the anti-national, peace-at-any-price policy of Fox, and that the younger Pitt is still encouraged in his resistance to France and in his efforts on behalf of England and of Europe."

Some personal and private aspects of the duke's life are also noticed. His connection with Nancy Parsons was made historical by one of Junius's bitterest invectives, and Grafton "appears to all time as depicted in the tremendous apostrophe: 'Sullen and severe without religion, profligate

without gaiety, you may live like Charles II. without being an amiable companion, and for ought I know may die as his father did without the reputation of a martyr. ' ”

These salient features of Sir William Anson's Introduction may serve to indicate the historical scope and importance of these memoirs and letters. Throughout the pages of the autobiography itself the reader finds interesting and suggestive passages that throw fresh light upon the politics of the times as from the inner circle. On the Peace of Paris Grafton speaks like a devoted follower of Pitt: "The preliminaries of that Peace might have become popular if the King of Prussia, our faithful and undaunted ally, had not been abandoned in a manner disgraceful to the honor of this country and unmerited by him, who had never swerved one instant in his steadiness to the alliance." The duke deplores "this melancholy proof of the all-powerful influence of the Crown, though it had not then mounted to that height where we now behold it." The editor calls attention to the doubt that naturally arises over the statement that the influence of the Crown was a more potent factor in politics in 1804 than it had been in 1762. He explains that if the King's wishes in 1804 had greater weight it was due to the accident that George III. was always on the verge of insanity in his later years—a suggestion which may serve to illustrate the purpose of the editor's notes throughout. They are notes for which the reader is constantly thankful.

As Secretary of State under the first Rockingham Ministry Grafton supported a conciliatory policy toward America. But he expresses the opinion that the repeal of the Stamp Act could not have been carried unless accompanied by the Declaratory Bill: "so great was still the desire, both within and without doors, of drawing a revenue from America." He speaks of the lack of authority in the ministry, during Pitt's illness, to cause the dismissal of Townshend for his reactionary and Tory measure during an important juncture in American affairs, though Townshend was acting contrary to the known decision of every member of the cabinet. Nothing short of dismissal could have prevented Townshend's measure. But Grafton did not seem to have been very seriously impressed with the necessity of preventing it. "For," he says, "the right of the mother country to impose taxes on the colonies was then so generally admitted that scarcely any one thought of questioning it, though a few years afterwards it was given up as indefensible by everybody."

Grafton was a devoted admirer and follower of Pitt. He characterizes Pitt's views as "great and noble, worthy of a patriot; but they are too visionary to expect that ambitious and interested men would co-operate in promoting them. Pitt's plan was Utopian, and I will venture to add, that he lived too much out of the world to have a right knowledge of mankind." This was said in some suggestive passages on Pitt's desire to organize a ministry above party, his desire that the "men of the best talents and fortunes and highest rank, taken from every party, should unite in one common cause." "Measures not men" was the dictum of Pitt, and he was ready to stand with all who would stand with

him by the cause of liberty and the national honor upon "true revolution principles."

Grafton seems to have had a poor appreciation of, and but little sympathy with, Rockingham's more modern view of the position of a prime minister. Rockingham insisted upon having the King's commission to form an independent ministry. Grafton was willing to accommodate himself to the royal wish that the minister should submit suggestions and advice which the King might accept, reject, or modify; and he seemed to be willing that the King might govern through his favorites if only Grafton and the true Whigs were his favorites.

Reverting to the controversy with the colonies, it may be said that the letters of Camden to Grafton will be found of special interest to students of that subject. "The issue is now joined," says Camden, in a notable letter of October 4, 1768, "upon the *right* to tax—the most untoward ground of dispute that could have been started; fatal to Great Britain if she miscarries, unprofitable if she succeeds . . . After both sides are half ruined in the contest, we shall at last establish a right which ought never to be executed."

The Spanish efforts to secure Gibraltar and the negotiations for peace in 1782 receive considerable attention. The last chapters are devoted to the Coalition and to the ministry of the younger Pitt. Grafton reports his intimate conversation with Fox while the latter was contemplating his union with North. "I will tell you plainly and without hesitation," says Grafton, "that I dislike your junction with Lord North and his friends extremely. Yet in the present state of the country I do not see what better can be now substituted; as you have unfortunately put an end to the union of the Whigs with whom, and for whom alone, I could ever wish to be in office."

The letters in the chapter from Conway, Camden, Pitt and Fox on the ministry of the younger Pitt will be found full of interest to the student of the time; and the volume closes with this valuable correspondence. The volume is one which takes the reader to the sources. Like the memoirs of Rockingham and Walpole, the autobiography of Grafton presents the personal testimony of a competent and important participant in the events that are described. Though the author of the autobiography was not a great character in history, he was, as Mr. Lecky says, "not destitute of the qualities of a statesman." His recollections bear the stamp of an honest purpose, while his correspondence is invaluable as records of his times. Such material edited by one of the great masters of English history is beyond the reach of adverse criticism by the historical reviewer, and it is to be presumed that such an original and authenticated account of one of the most engaging periods of English history will be gratefully received by all historical students.

JAMES ALBERT WOODBURN.

The Life of Nelson, the Embodiment of the Sea Power of Great Britain. By A. T. MAHAN, D. C. L., LL. D., Captain in the United States Navy. (Boston : Little, Brown and Co. 1897. Two vols., pp. xiii, 454 ; xvi, 427.)

CAPTAIN MAHAN'S latest book is his best ; these two volumes fitly crown the work done in their three predecessors. It is not astonishing that this standard life is already passing into a new edition. It has simply displaced all its predecessors except one, that of Southey, which is the vade-mecum of British patriotism, a stimulant of British loyalty, literature of high quality, but in no sense a serious historical or psychological study. The author of the volumes under review has followed the same scientific method which he used so successfully in the first three of the series, but, conceding what is just and right to them, his results in these are better because his material was better. He has followed Nelson day by day throughout life in a correspondence which was not edited for political and personal considerations as was that of Napoleon ; besides he is dealing with a man of his own blood and his own profession ; we had almost said of his own time, for unlike Napoleon, Nelson was a man of the nineteenth century. The former was essentially a medieval Latin modified a little by contact with central Europe, and such training as he had was in the conceptions of an earlier century.

The reader will therefore find in this book three things : an unbroken series of verified historical facts related in minute detail ; a complete picture of the hero, with every virtue justly estimated but with no palliation of weakness or fault ; and lastly a triumphant vindication of a thesis novel and startling to most, that the earth's barriers are continental, its easy and defensible highways those of the trackless ocean. The facts of course were already known, but they were not known in connection with the great tide to which they were contributory, nor as compelled in form and sequence by the tremendous character of a genius never before completely understood or portrayed.

This is in reality the great feature of the book, that Nelson finally stands forth as the man he was. The book is adorned by a series of admirable portraits, and the author has made them live again by his study of Nelson's letters, so that his readers get a familiar acquaintance with the great admiral's appearance at every stage, almost as if listening to an appreciative contemporary. Captain Mahan shows us the boy, youth and man : in gesture, carriage and style—the very part and cut of the hair is carefully described. Nelson's health, his wounds, his seasickness, the interchange of relations between mind and body, all are minutely described. We see in lifelike reality his charms and his virtues offset by his vanity and short-temper ; his timidity and leonine boldness contrasted ; his passion for glory moderated by his sense of honor and devotion to professional duty ; his extreme sensitiveness to criticism combined with his reckless defiance of official restraint in any great crisis ; his diplomacy, strategy and tactics, his frailty and criminal folly ; all

these we have delineated in graceful fluent style against the background of the times sketched in with master-strokes. The author is true in a high sense, because he knows thoroughly the close-knitted web of the events throughout the contemporary world, and apprehends the intricate modification of one series of facts by another at all times in all men. He is indulgent and sympathetic, not in order to confuse his hero with an evolutionary process, but the more completely to separate himself from his subject and carve it in the round; he is as cogent and vigorous in the modeling of Nelson's defects as in exhibiting the perspective of his strength and virtue.

Nor is this book in any sense polemic except in its calm and merciless logic: the conclusions of the writer are not reiterated and thundered but they are forcibly suggested. To the concluding work of a cyclical comprehensive scheme, we might expect a peroration. There is none, but we rise from the perusal of these volumes with the unalterable conviction that Captain Mahan has revealed the modern world to itself. *The English-speaking races are notoriously devoid of theory in the conduct of their affairs.* In developing their institutions they build stone upon stone, course upon course, and finding their edifice commodious are indifferent to its symmetry. The development of sea-power in Great Britain came through the necessity of self-preservation; it was observed, but not analytically examined. Mahan's high place as a historian is assured not merely by his accuracy, his dispassionate judgment, his insight into character, and his constructive imagination, but above all by the revelation he has made that the course of history is in this age and for long to be determined by the expansion of European civilization into the ends of the earth, and by the determination of international relations not upon land alone, but upon the broad expanse of the ocean, both as highway and battlefield. Trafalgar had little immediate effect upon the course of contemporaneous events in continental Europe, but it settled the fact that there would be a new balance of power for succeeding generations in the settlement and commerce of the greater Europe throughout Asia, Africa and America, and in their connection one with the other as controlled by sea-power.

As far as we know there has been but one attack on Captain Mahan's accuracy and critical judgment. This was in connection with Nelson's conduct at Naples in June, 1799. How the author deals with presumptuous rashness and incompetency can be seen in the second edition of the book. We know of no finer example of historical criticism. Of psychological analysis, the finest specimen in the work is the account of Nelson's relationship with Lady Hamilton. The woman is depicted in all her meretricious tawdriness, the man in all his conspicuous virtue; yet in the nice account of how the hero fell there is a perfect illustration of the proverb that the excesses of conscious virtue are more dangerous than those of vice, since the former are not restrained by conscience. For masterpieces of historical condensation we refer the reader to paragraphs like that on page 63 of Vol. II., which is but one of many scattered throughout the book.

It is not the province of this journal to outline the contents of great books nor to abridge the strength of a great picture into the feeble lines of a miniature ; if it were, neither would be possible in this case, for the self-restraint of the author makes it impossible to prune or omit anything written by him. The book is one to be read and pondered exactly as it stands. The over-haste of those who skim and skip cannot put the reviewer under contribution for their knowledge or opinions, even if he were willing so to be taxed.

It appears to us that in the case of this book the reviewer can have but one of those functions ordinarily attributed to him. The student of history must constantly recall the author's point of view ; Captain Mahan's is that of a naval expert. We gravely doubt whether he sufficiently recalls the duty imposed by his own skill as a writer. This book will be read by thousands of general readers who will justly consider it final. For such a public we believe he should have explained the moral as well as the legal aspects of certain events : for example in dealing with the battle of Copenhagen, we should have felt more content, could he have been more emphatic in his dealing with Nelson's notorious *ruse de guerre*. We doubt again whether the average student can understand the exact truth when he reads that " Prussia *promptly* adhered to the Armed Neutrality ;" she was prompt to be sure, but most reluctant. Nor do we care to find the dubious pages of Bourrienne quoted as authority for Napoleon's conduct. These and some other similar cases of a too concise accuracy in the use of words are not of great importance in themselves nor numerous enough to constitute a blemish, but the reader should remember that Captain Mahan is a man of war who, although a fascinating writer and general historian, is chiefly concerned with history as a department of his profession and does not primarily regard it as a discipline of ethics.

Sir Robert Peel, from his Private Papers. Edited for his Trustees by CHARLES STUART PARKER, sometime M.P. for the County and for the City of Perth, and late Fellow of University College, Oxford. With a Chapter on his Life and Character by his Grandson, the Hon. GEORGE PEEL. Vols. II and III. (London : John Murray, 1889. Pp. [25], 602, [8], 663.)

PEEL held office for twenty years. He served under George III., George IV., William IV. and Queen Victoria, and was three times prime minister. His active political career began in 1810, when he became Under-Secretary for the Colonies in the Tory administration of Perceval, and it was continued until his death in 1850, when although out of office and no longer leader of the Conservative party, he was still a member of the House of Commons. Mr. Parker, the editor of the Peel Papers, early in the second volume records a conversation which he had with Gladstone in respect to Peel. Gladstone, who began his official career under Peel, then affirmed that, as there were two Pitts, one before and the other after the French Revolution, so there were two Peels, one before

and the other after the Parliamentary Reform Act of 1832. These new volumes begin in 1828, on the eve of the break-up of the old Tory party over Catholic Emancipation, and four years before the first Reform Act was passed. But it is with the Peel of the period after 1832—of the twenty years during which modern England was so largely in making—that they are chiefly concerned; and the letters and memoranda now published strongly emphasize Gladstone's description of Peel, and likewise confirm Guizot's estimate of the Peel of the period after Reform, when he described him as the most liberal of Conservatives, the most conservative of Liberals, and the most capable of both political parties during this epoch of English history.

Taking the three Peel volumes as a whole, it is difficult, if not impossible, to name any other collection of nineteenth-century letters and papers now published, which can be of greater value to students of modern English political history. They have this great value, not only by reason of the epoch-making periods which they cover, but also because the vast amount of material embodied in them is all first-hand. The work of the editor has been practically confined to selection and arrangement, and this work has been exceedingly well done. Mr. Parker's introductions to chapters, based mostly on Peel's *Memoirs*, on the Hansards, and on other equally authoritative material, are usually very brief. So, invariably, are the paragraphs knitting the letters together. There is so little of the editor that the volumes may be described as consisting entirely of the correspondence of Peel and his political colleagues. The two later volumes, which now complete the work, begin in 1828, and cover the period intervening between 1828 and 1850. They thus deal with the closing years of the old Tory party, and with the last years of the parliamentary system which came to an end in 1832, as well as with the great constitutional and economic changes which were made during the next twenty years, and with the readjustments of party lines which went on during the later half of Peel's life, and in which he had so eminent a share.

The three volumes bridge over the old and the new political England. They begin in the first decade after the Union of Ireland with Great Britain, and cover all the movements and changes in English politics, home, colonial and foreign, constitutional and economic, from the Union until the abandonment of protection in 1846.

In the first two volumes there are many letters which show how difficult was the administration of Ireland after the Union had taken place. The Irish Parliament was gone. The Union had removed this great difficulty in governing Ireland, and this great cause of apprehension in England. But the Castle system was continued on much the same lines as before the Union. Protestant ascendancy was undisturbed until 1829. Even then the real disturbance of the old system, so far as the executive details of Irish administration were concerned, was but small. Peel, notwithstanding his former and decided opposition to Emancipation, was loyal to the act which political exigencies compelled him to carry; and

his letters, for several years after Emancipation, contain the amplest evidence of his active and persistent dislike of the Castle traditions, and of his anxiety that the political and civil equality between the two forms of religion in Ireland, established by the act of 1829, should be real and of advantage to the Roman Catholics, who for a century and a quarter had labored under the disadvantage of exclusion.

With respect to movements more exclusively English, the letters bring out the inner details of the unsuccessful Tory opposition to Parliamentary Reform, and the extreme apprehensions with which the Tories at this time associated with Peel regarded the measure which Lord John Russell and Earl Grey carried through Parliament. Arbuthnott, who had been a Tory government whip, and who was for so long the close and intimate friend of Wellington, and for years a channel of communication between Peel and Wellington, characterized the Reform Act as "nothing but wickedness and atrocity." This expresses the feeling of the Tories in 1832; and as the letters to Peel for several years subsequent to 1832 bring out, the Tories persisted in the conviction that the constitutional changes made in 1832 must inevitably endanger property and the stability of the Crown. Convictions like these were, of course, expressed in Parliament, when the bills of 1831 and 1832 were being forced through the two Houses by Russell and Grey. How long and how apparently sincerely these convictions were afterwards held by the ultra-Tories is exemplified by many letters to Peel; and letters, too, which were written privately and with no view to popular political effect. As late as 1836, even Sir James Graham, who had been of the Whig party and who joined it again after the repeal of the Corn Laws, wrote to Peel in the interest of a movement to be organized to resist "the tendency to a Republic."

After Parliamentary Reform came the reform of the old municipal corporations; and again, the letters to Peel give the inner history of the Tory opposition to the measure which has been the foundation of modern municipal government in England, and which in the political history of England in the nineteenth century must rank in importance next to the far-reaching change in the representative system in 1832. One after another the great changes which took place between 1832 and the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 are elucidated in Peel's letters and in those which were written to him by his correspondents. The origin of the modern income tax in England; the establishment of the existing currency system; the various measures of relief for Ireland; and finally the abandonment of protection are all dealt with in the letters to and from Peel. Peel, more than any of his Tory colleagues, loyally accepted the change made in 1832, and from the time he became prime minister for a brief period in 1835, owing to the eagerness of William IV. to rid himself of his Whig ministers, it is easy to trace in his letters the development of the Peel whom Guizot described as the "most liberal of Conservatives and the most conservative of Liberals."

Peel's liberalism is shown in his gradual but steady movement to-

wards the principles of free trade ; in his attitude towards Roman Catholics and towards English dissenters ; in his persistent efforts for an honest and efficient civil service ; and in his sincere and enlightened interest in the working classes, and his realization that it was possible to improve their economic and social condition, and also to better the position in which they then stood before the law with respect to their employers. There was much more liberalism of this kind in Peel than there was in the contemporary leaders of the Liberal party, such as Melbourne and Palmerston ; and in respect to free trade Peel was much in advance of the politicians who, between the Reform Act and the abandonment of protection, dominated the Whig party in Parliament.

Besides the light these letters to and from Peel throw on the domestic legislation in England in the first twenty years after the Reform Act, and on the new alignment of political parties, they are most informing with respect to the closing years of the old company rule in India, and to British relations with Canada and the United States. Many of the later letters have reference to the Oregon boundary dispute, and to the political troubles in French Canada in the early forties. The Oregon question was pending at the time of the disturbances in French Canada ; and in writing to Lord Aberdeen, who was Secretary for the Colonies in Peel's 1841-1846 administration, Peel gave expression to an opinion which, had it been uttered at the present time, would have ranked him among the "Little Englanders." He was disposed to keep Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, for their geographical position made their sea-coast of great advantage to England. But if the people of lower Canada were not cordially with England, "why," Peel asked of Aberdeen, "should we contract the tremendous obligation of having to defend, on a point of honour, their territory against American aggression?" "Let us," he continued, "fight to the last for the point of honour, if the people are with us. In that case we cannot abandon them. But if they are not with us, or if they will not cordially support and sustain those measures which we consider necessary for their good government, and for the maintenance of a safe connection with them, let us have a friendly separation while there is yet time."

When Parliamentary Reform was carried in 1832, an end was made to the system developed to such perfection by George III., under which the Crown exercised an undue and entirely unconstitutional influence upon Parliament. The old relationship between the Crown and Parliament is well brought out in George III.'s letters to North ; for these eighteenth-century letters show the King acting as a manager of parliamentary elections, in other words as a "boss," working adroitly and zealously to elect members to the House of Commons whom he could afterwards use. In these Peel volumes, there are many letters from the Queen. More of the Queen's letters to a prime minister are contained in these two volumes than in any volume hitherto published. These letters show the whole-hearted sympathy of the Queen with Peel's free-trade policy. They are also of great value as showing the altered position of

the Crown towards Parliament and the Cabinet after Reform, when for the first time for centuries England had a sovereign who was content to occupy a really constitutional position towards Parliament, and to abstain from all interference in the election of its members.

Further than this, the Peel volumes throw much additional and oftentimes new light on Wellington, Canning, Liverpool, Grey, Russell, Melbourne, Palmerston, Graham, Gladstone, Disraeli, Bentinck, Cobden, Bright and O'Connell; in fact on nearly every statesman or politician who was prominent in Parliament between the Union and the end of Peel's last administration. The chapter on the life and character of Peel by his grandson, the Hon. George Peel, with which the third volume is brought to a close, is so helpful to readers, especially to those not familiar with all the ins and outs of English politics during Peel's long career, that it would have been well had it been given an earlier place in the volumes.

EDWARD PORRITT.

Cavour. By the Countess EVELYN MARTINENGO CESARESCO. [Foreign Statesmen Series.] (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1898. Pp. 222.)

THIS book has several claims to consideration. In the first place, it is the first biography written in English of the European statesman who, with Bismarck, dominates the last half of the nineteenth century. The hasty memoir which Mr. Dicey compiled and published a few weeks after Cavour's death, cannot be seriously considered in any discussion of Cavour biographies, and De La Rive's invaluable recollections lost their fine edge in being translated into English; so that to Countess Cesaresco belongs the credit of a pioneer. She is also the first to present, in any language, an epitome of the voluminous material which has accumulated during the past twenty years. But this would not suffice of itself to stamp her book with the distinction which characterizes it. She has achieved the double feat of making the personages she has to deal with live, and of keeping a proper balance between biography and history. It is as rare to find an historian who can breathe life into his characters as it is to find a novelist. In this very series, for example, Mr. Frederic Harrison, writing on William the Silent, and Mr. Richard Lodge, writing on Richelieu, do not always make us feel that William and Richelieu were once alive. Countess Cesaresco, on the other hand, never suggests that Cavour was merely a lay-figure on which she clothes certain historical abstractions. So, too, although in her summary Cavour's work predominates, as it should, the share which other actors took in the unification of Italy is clearly and accurately stated, and the general principles involved are well defined. Her book might be used as a syllabus by any one wishing to master this most fascinating period; but it differs from other syllabi in being full of sparkle and interest.

Among the points which the author has dealt with especially well is

the hostility of the Vatican to the reform of clerical abuses in Piedmont. In another chapter Countess Cesaresco brings out for the first time the immense burden which Cavour carried between his compact with Napoleon III. at Plombières, in July, 1858, and the declaration of war, in April, 1859. It has come to be the fashion to speak as if Cavour, having persuaded the Emperor at Plombières, had little more to do until war came; in fact, however, the intervening nine months of suspense tested his immense versatility to the utmost. Throughout this volume, the specialist will value the lucid description of the shifting policy, now hot, now cold, of official England towards the Italian cause. Being an Englishwoman married to an Italian, Countess Cesaresco is able to follow intelligently the international relations of both governments. Elsewhere, in her allusions to French politics she shows an equal familiarity with the country from which even more than from England Cavour got indispensable aid. There are few persons so conversant with Cavour's life that they cannot find some new points, or old ones set in new and striking fashion, in this admirable epitome. It has throughout a wit and charm seldom met with in any historical writing nowadays, qualities which, being accompanied by adequate knowledge, contribute to give the book permanent value. Judging from the present tendency of our producers of historical books it will be long before we have an equally excellent biographical summary of Washington or of Lincoln, though it is greatly to be desired that their lives should be told with just such clearness, condensation, truth and charm.

WILLIAM R. THAYER.

The Annals of the Voyages of the Brothers Nicolo and Antonio Zeno in the North Atlantic about the end of the Fourteenth Century and the claim founded thereon to a Venetian Discovery of America; A Criticism and an Indictment. By FRED. W. LUCAS. (London: Henry Stevens Son and Stiles. 1898. Pp. xiv, 233.)

THIS elaborate work has already been well described and epitomized, and in this brief notice one must proceed directly to the few points selected for attention, simply adding a recognition of the obligation the diligent and courteous author has placed us all under by his valuable labors.

The author claims to have convicted Zeno the Younger of a "contemptible literary fraud;" and tells us that, at the time he wrote, "any man with a few ducats in his pocket" could have commanded the material for the narrative. In fact, he maintains that he has furnished "the last word" on this subject. The tone and language of the author are those of the victor, but possibly he is too victorious. His positions are by no means impregnable.

Mr. Lucas objects to apocryphal things in the narrative; yet on this ground Mather's *Magnalia* might be dismissed. The best attested nar-

ratives bear marks similar to those of Zeno. In 1607, the colonists in Maine reported nutmegs in the land, with a lake of hot water; yet Mr. Lucas is troubled about a volcano in Greenland, a volcanic country, even though Ruysch, in his map of 1507, shows the site of an island off the east coast of Greenland that was destroyed by combustion. He is disturbed, too, about alleged quotations from Olaus Magnus, even though Barlow, in his description of his voyage in 1584, quotes without credit from Verrazano of 1525. Gosnold in 1602 also quotes, without recognition, the narrative of the Florentine.

The charge that Zeno plagiarized Olaus Magnus, even if true, proves nothing, as critics, upon reflection, must acknowledge; while Mr. Lucas forgets to inquire where Olaus himself received his information, and why Zeno the Elder, having lived before Olaus, could not have obtained information from the same source. One could fill a page with leading, yet unnoticed questions. In the past too much has been claimed for Zeno's narrative, which errs both by excess and deficiency, though nevertheless the narrative is what one might expect under the circumstances. The question is not, how much is true and how much false, but whether there was any voyage at all in 1380.

The question turns largely on the map of Zeno. It is admitted, that "by far the strongest argument ever put forward in favor of Zeno the Younger" is that of Humboldt, who said that the narrative contained "descriptions of objects of which nothing in Europe could have given the author the idea." This statement, however, did not go far enough, and Major wrote, that the geographical information was "very far in advance not only of what was known by geographers in the fourteenth century," but of "the sixteenth century when it was published." This was the ground taken distinctly by the present writer four years previously. Others took the ground that Zeno did not obtain his knowledge of Greenland from sources accessible in his day. Mr. Lucas, however, gives maps including four undated manuscript maps, from which Zeno must have drawn his map. There is no proof that Zeno ever saw these maps. He, indeed, *might* have seen them, yet no possibility of this kind could convict him of forgery. We could with equal reason say, that the maps in question were bad copies of his ancestor's ancient map, for they were bad copies of *some* map. Mr. Lucas was under obligation to suggest an origin for those maps, yet he ignores the all-important question. He first refers to a printed map of Ptolemy, of 1482, with "many of the Zenian names." This map shows a country plastered upon the western coast of Europe ten degrees east of Norway. This appeared in numerous editions prior to 1558, and a glance at the map of Zeno proves that he knew the ignorance of the Ptolemy map and repudiated it. Cartographers cannot entertain for a moment the notion that this bastard map served Zeno in any capacity. It was as bad as the debased map of Mercator, 1554. The Zamoisky and the three Florentine maps of the fifteenth century likewise fail to answer the requirements. Our author assumes that Zeno framed his map from these, but offers little

more than assumption. He avoids the issue, failing to attempt any proof of his assumption. A comparison of these maps with the Zeno map indicates that, if Zeno the Younger ever saw them, he repudiated them; for it must be shown that Zeno's map follows them all, whereas it repudiates all. They show not so much as a single mark of priority in respect to Greenland, the crucial point. These four maps are of one and the same type, and show their maker's ignorance of the situation of Greenland, by this error closely approaching still later maps which ignorantly delineate Greenland very much in the form of a cow's tail, attached to the west coast of Europe and switched off a little way into the Atlantic, nearly the entire bulk lying east of Ireland, instead of west. Zeno, on the contrary, places Greenland west of Ireland, where it belongs, putting it in its proper relations to the new western lands, portions of the continent of America, its distance from Europe being at that time well known. By degrees the situation of Greenland was wholly lost to cartography, and Ptolemy and Mercator only show the popular ignorance of the times. The Zamoisky map puts the west coast of Greenland near longitude 10° , and Zeno places it in 64° . It is idle to say that Zeno's idea was taken from either of the maps mentioned, which show the approach of that debasement and ignorance which soon came to prevail. The debasement is emphasized by the fact that the Zamoisky map indicates the settlement of Greenland on the east coast, whereas our author himself admits that it was on the west, and only relatively east. The aforesaid Florentine maps also show the incoming ignorance of the country.

But granting, for the sake of the argument, a resemblance between the Zeno map and the four Italian maps, we must meet the question, where did their author get their conceptions? This opens a most important but unexplored field, and, before Mr. Lucas is credited with the demolition of Zeno, he must take up the investigation; for if, in the middle of the fifteenth century these map-makers found Greenland map material, why could not Zeno the Elder have done the same at the more favorable period of 1380? Indeed, it must be evident to all, that the question is still far from final settlement. Evidently there was a very ancient and reliable map or maps of the North, showing Greenland correctly, being the result of generations of voyages, beginning with the first voyage of Eric the Red; and if Zeno's map was not the original, it at least is the oldest and best now known to us. It antedates all others, as its own internal evidence proves.

The Vatican archives and other sources of knowledge which the writer of this notice has personally studied, show that at the time when Zeno made his voyage Italy was in communication with Greenland; and it at least may be inferred that any information or misinformation common to both Zeno and Olaus Magnus must have been derived from similar ancient sources. If however the charge of plagiarizing from Olaus by Zeno were sustained, it would not, in the slightest degree, invalidate the voyage, and on that and on similar points Mr. Lucas has bestowed quite all the labor justified. Zeno probably anticipated Olaus, and while

he borrowed much, he knew much from actual observations, realizing that Greenland was a vast country, across the western ocean and associated with a continent. Our conclusion is, that Mr. Lucas, if he intends to hold the ground, must restudy the whole subject, and fairly meet the issues, a few of which, in this too brief article, are now pointed out. For ourselves, from material now at command, we could make a stronger argument against Zeno than our author has, though we fear that in the face of opposing facts, of a solid character, the result would not offer a satisfactory proof of the charge, that Zeno the Younger was guilty of an impudent forgery.

B. F. DE COSTA.

Letters to Washington and Accompanying Papers, published by the Society of The Colonial Dames of America. Edited by STANISLAUS MURRAY HAMILTON. Vol. I., 1752-1756. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co. 1898. Pp. xxi, 395.)

THE Society of The Colonial Dames of America has issued the first volume of the *Letters to Washington*, and proposes to continue the series until the period of the Revolution is reached. It is to be hoped that no such limit will be maintained. Nothing that the society can do will better justify its existence, or prove more grateful to all interested in American history, than to publish the entire series of letters to Washington, now in the Department of State. The field is exceedingly rich, practically untouched, and is essential to a proper understanding of the man and of his time. We would go further, and collect all letters to Washington to be found in other collections, public and private, and so make the publication more complete, more approaching a finality. The society deserves all praise for its patriotic undertaking, and as the book is not to be issued in a limited edition, it is within the reach of all willing to pay the somewhat stiff price.

The manner in which the volume has been edited by Mr. S. M. Hamilton calls for some comment, if only to serve as a note of warning. The limits of an editor's functions are not fixed, but depend much upon personal qualities. Certain features may be laid down as generally demanded. The text must be accurate, and as the writer made it. Doubtful points are to be explained in notes or made clear by insertion of bracketed words. Non-essentials, such as a chance dash or dot, or the use of a dash for a period, may be disregarded, just as a blot, a scrawl or a flourish may be passed over. Capitals and abbreviations are interesting from the study of character they permit; but inserted words may be embodied in the text, and altered words, unless they materially altered the original meaning, may be omitted. A number of such general rules may be framed, and more will suggest themselves to any one familiar with manuscript material. The principal object to be attained is a clear text.

It is with regret, therefore, that it becomes necessary to point out how much below this object the work of Mr. Hamilton proves. He

gives the impression of being a careful and most minute editor, even seeking to reproduce in type the little oddities of writing encountered. The task is an impossible one, and the attempt destroys the symmetry of the page. So many of Washington's correspondents were illiterate men, or soldiers more fitted to use the gun than the quill, that the vagaries of stroke are beyond imitation, and really mean nothing. A dozen photographic reproductions would be far more instructive than all the dots, dashes, brackets and signs used by Mr. Hamilton. This frequent resort to symbols is confusing, as the dots are used where no words are omitted, and the brackets occur where no words have been inserted. Unfortunate, too, is the use of the caret and inserted words, for much space is thus wasted and the appearance of the page is seriously marred.

Apart from these mistakes on the mechanical side, we have much to say on the faults of the text, a far more weighty charge to bring against the editor. The curiously close following of pen-points would lead one to expect that at least the words were correctly printed—as written; but this expectation is disappointed so often that serious doubt must apply to the entire text as printed. A few instances are cited, without any attempt to arrange them under different descriptions of error. P. 12, "I have seen a [breviate comission" should read "I have sent." P. 15, Col. John Thorton should be Thornton or Thoroton, though proper names are usually carelessly written in the manuscripts. P. 17, Monacatootha could hardly have been "agreed friend" to the English, but was more likely to be "a good or great friend." P. 114, Triplep should be Triplett, and on p. 121, Walkin's Ferry should be Watkin's, an error repeated on pp. 129 and 136. On this last page Talmuth occurs for Falmuth. P. 136 has Deheysen for Deheyser, a name of a dancing master and deserter, one not likely to be unknown. P. 138, the P. A. should be P. H. P. 140, Conigockicg is a remarkable printing of Conigochieg; and Vaumeters on the same page should be Vanmeters. On p. 160 "esputed" should be "expected." P. 165 has "Car? on the N first cost," where it should probably read "Cur? on their." What is the Grass-Guard mentioned on page 142? Conjecture fails to explain the reference to the Ciprian Dame (p. 39) and to XVIII f. f. D. (p. 329). The P. L. on p. 334 must be intended for L^a L., *i. e.*, Lord Loudoun, but the solitary letter between lines 3 and 4 on p. 224 baffles the reader. On p. 358 premium stands for premium, and the "small panel" mentioned on p. 162 must be a parcel.

These are but samples of the errors due to careless reading of the manuscripts or careless proof-reading. So many of them are unnecessary and misleading that we have dwelt upon this side of the publication in the hope that greater care and a more particular attention to essentials may be given in the volumes to be issued. The contents of the letters speak for themselves, and are full of touches of a personal and historical character. But the full value of these papers cannot be developed unless the editing is improved.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.

The Battles of Trenton and Princeton. By WILLIAM S. STRYKER, Adjutant-General of New Jersey. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co. 1898. Pp. xv, 514.)

DESCENDED from an officer of the Revolutionary Army, born in Trenton, educated at Princeton, an officer in the Union army in the Civil War, adjutant-general of the state of New Jersey, and a diligent student of the history of the country, especially during the Revolutionary period, there is no one so well qualified to write the history of the battles of Trenton and Princeton as the author of this exhaustive work. It must be the storehouse from which future historians must derive their information as to this crisis in the struggle of the nation for life and liberty. To review it must be simply to condense the story.

Part II. of the work presents the materials upon which the author has founded his accurate and interesting history. From Europe and America, from public and private sources he has gathered the rich stores for his work. If any fault is to be found it is in the minuteness of the details, especially in the account of the first battle at Trenton, interfering with the historical perspective and weakening the effect of the salient features of the events described.

The closing months of 1776 were the darkest period of the struggle for independence. The American army had been overwhelmed and driven from New York. Washington slowly and doggedly retreated through the Jerseys, abandoning each place only as the British vanguard entered, until at 11 A. M. on Sunday, Dec. 8, just after the American troops had crossed the Delaware, the British and Hessian troops entered Trenton. Washington had taken the precaution to destroy or to remove to the other side of the river every boat on the Delaware for a distance of seventy miles. This act and Howe's love of ease and consequent delay saved Philadelphia and the cause of freedom.

"These were the times that tried men's souls," but Washington never yielded to despondency. He made every effort to strengthen his forces. The terms of enlistment of many of the troops had expired and they had returned home; some had thrown down their arms believing that the cause was lost; many of the colonists had listened to Howe's proclamation and accepted British protection. Cornwallis had returned to New York and was about to sail for England, to announce that the rebellion was subdued. Washington by his earnest appeal induced his veterans to volunteer for six weeks after the expiration of their term of service on December 31; through Robert Morris he secured ten dollars in "hard money" for each man, and added several thousand troops from Pennsylvania to his exhausted army. He planned and executed the attack upon the Hessians in Trenton. Crossing the Delaware on Christmas night amid floating ice, marching amid wind and snow and hail, at eight o'clock the next morning he surprised and defeated the enemy. Only two of his officers and two soldiers were wounded, and one or two perished in the snow; but two days afterward a thousand of these thinly-

clad, shoeless, poorly-fed men were unfit for duty. Col. Rall, the Hessian commander, was mortally wounded; his loss was 22 killed, 84 wounded and 916 captured. General Stryker's account of this battle, as we have said, is the most accurate and complete that has ever been written.

The moral effect of this victory upon the Americans and the British cannot be overestimated. By it the people were inspired with greater courage and patriotism. Washington gave his troops two days' rest in Pennsylvania; then crossing the Delaware for the third time in a week he was again in Trenton.

The victory at Trenton was a terrible surprise to the British at New York. Howe sent Cornwallis with 7000 or 8000 well-disciplined troops toward Trenton. Delayed by muddy roads they did not reach Princeton until January 1, 1777. Washington's troops encountered them at Maidenhead, now Lawrenceville, and delayed them as much as possible so that they did not reach Trenton until nearly sunset. Washington had withdrawn nearly all his troops across the Assanpink and obstinately defended the little bridge in the town. On the last hour of daylight hung the fate of the nation. His officers urged Cornwallis to continue the battle and cross the little creek, but he said his troops were wearied and that he "had the old fox just where he wanted him and would catch him in the morning." But when morning came the game was gone.

Historians generally have not attached sufficient importance to this second battle of Trenton. Washington was now in a most critical position. A superior force was in his front, the Delaware was in his rear; most of his troops had never been under fire and the muddy roads were almost impassable. At a council of war held at night Washington proposed to march by a new and circuitous route around the British army to Princeton, attack the forces there and if possible secure the stores at New Brunswick. The plan was accepted, but could it be executed? A kind Providence again interfered; while the council was in session a cold northwest wind sprang up and in two hours the ground was frozen hard. Shortly after midnight the army marched silently away, while small parties kept throwing up entrenchments and the blazing watch-fires completely deceived the enemy. The army reached the Quaker meeting-house a mile and a half from Princeton about sunrise. Three British regiments, the 17th, the 55th, and the 40th, with three troops of dragoons, had passed the night at Princeton, and the greater portion under Col. Mawhood had just started to join Gen. Leslie at Maidenhead.

None of the historians seems to have noticed Washington's admirable arrangement of his army. The writer of this review was the first to call attention to it. The van and the rear were composed of veterans; the Pennsylvania militia, who had not been under fire save at Trenton, were in the centre. The army was also arranged geographically: the New England troops were in the van, those from Delaware, Maryland and Virginia brought up the rear and Mercer's command, intended for special service, was also composed of veterans. The Philadelphia Troop of 22 men was all the cavalry; the artillery was carefully distributed.

The British 17th and part of the 55th had crossed the bridge over Stony Brook at Worth's (now Bruere's) Mill when, looking back from Millett's hill, they saw the morning sunlight flashing on the arms of the Americans advancing toward Princeton. Mawhood recrossed the bridge and discovered Mercer marching to destroy it. Each was surprised and endeavored to gain the high ground near William Clark's house which stood a little east of the present turnpike and near Mr. Lombard's house. The Americans reached it first and from behind a worm fence poured forth a deadly fire which was returned partly from behind some farm buildings. A bayonet charge drove the Americans down the hill. Mercer's horse was wounded, he dismounted and refusing to surrender was bayoneted and left for dead. The Pennsylvania troops now took part but were driven back, although Mawhood could not silence Moulder's battery. Washington now appeared upon the scene, galloped between the lines and with waving hat and commanding voice cheered them on to fight. Reining in his horse and facing the enemy he sat motionless. Between the lines and exposed to the fire of both armies it seemed impossible for him to escape death. A roar of musketry follows; Hitchcock's Rhode Island Regiment on the right, the 7th Virginia and other Continentals on the left swing into line, the enemy breaks and flies as the shout of victory arises from the American army. Again was Washington saved by the special Providence of God. The head of the column defeated the remainder of the 55th at a little ravine near the town. A part of the 40th escaped; nearly two hundred who were lodged in Nassau Hall, the principal college building, were made prisoners. The walls still bear the evidence of the battle.

Again had Cornwallis been outgeneralled by Washington. He hastened to Princeton only to find that the "old fox" had escaped, but that stores and money-chest were safe in New Brunswick. The British loss was 100 killed and nearly 300 wounded and prisoners. The American army lost about 40 killed and wounded, a large portion being officers. Gen. Mercer and Lieut. Read were mortally wounded; Col. Haslet, Capts. Fleming, Neil and Shippen, Lieut. Yates and Ensign Morris fell upon the field.

These ten days in New Jersey, these battles produced a wonderful effect, gave new courage to the people, strengthened the army, dissipated the British dream of speedy conquest, secured the alliance with France, silenced the enemies of Washington and proved to the world that here was a great military genius, and a statesman also, for Congress had made him dictator of the nation struggling for liberty. "Washington, the dictator," has shown himself both a Fabius and a Camillus. "His march through our lines is allowed to be a prodigy of generalship," wrote Horace Walpole. "All our hopes were blasted by that unhappy affair at Trenton," said Lord George Germain in Parliament.

Well might Frederick the Great say of this campaign, "The achievements of Washington and his little band of compatriots between the 25th of December and the 4th of January, a space of ten days, were the most brilliant of any recorded in the annals of military achievements."

In this work General Stryker has given us an admirable and well-illustrated history of the crisis of the nation's struggle for liberty and independence.

HENRY CLAY CAMERON.

A Constitutional History of the American People, 1776-1850. By FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE. (New York : Harper and Brothers. 1898. Two vols., pp. xxvii, 486 ; xv, 520.)

In the preface to these stout octavos Mr. Thorpe tells us that his work "is a record of the evolution of government in this country since the Revolution." Among the struggles through which this evolution has been accomplished he names as of first importance those which sought a wider suffrage, fairer representation, the gifts of freedom and the franchise to the colored man, free schools, "the separation of the state from questionable practices and the establishment of government directly upon the will of the people." This enumeration discloses at the outset the writer's view of his theme ; it is, to quote his own words, "a history of the evolution of democracy in America ; and by the term democracy is to be understood the form of government, not the doctrine of a political party." The merits—which are great—and the defects—some of which are striking—of the work, are in good part the natural results of this view. A broadly conceived constitutional history of the American people must take into consideration every factor which, acting on and through government, has shaped public policy and built up political character ; and such a history must give to each factor the weight which measures with proximate accuracy its influence in determining these results. It is obvious that Mr. Thorpe has not conceived his task in this way. But to identify as he has done, the constitutional history of the American people during the three-quarters of a century immediately following the Declaration of Independence, with the evolution of democracy, is either to slight, or wholly to ignore matters which belong to the very heart of the subject. Upon every people capable of contributing to general progress two distinct tasks are laid : one, to conserve and improve the civilization acquired either by inheritance or through intercourse with other peoples ; the other, to diffuse as widely as possible, both at home and abroad, this civilization—a word which stands for all those good things the possession of which separates the most advanced of human kind from those in the lowest stage of savagery. It is in the fulfillment of the second task that a people becomes democratic. In no country, unless we except certain dependencies of Great Britain, has the diffusion of the best things—the things which make life noble and enjoyable, which enlarge the powers and raise the character of man both as an individual and as a member of society—gone further or faster than in the United States. In its political aspect this diffusion takes the form of a right to participate in government and thereby the acquisition and use of the power to shape public policy in the interest of the less advanced,

less prosperous and larger division of society. Hence Mr. Thorpe is justified in devoting much space to the movement which has left upon our government and policy an impress so strongly democratic.

But he has erred grievously in so nearly ignoring the counter-movement which not only preserved to us the best things in the civilization brought to the new world by our emigrant forefathers, and the best things in our more recent acquisitions from abroad, but imparted to these certain characteristics that have made them American and at the same time have heightened their value for others as well as ourselves. In the scheme of Mr. Thorpe there is no room for the proper treatment of that phase of this conservative, in some respects aristocratic, reaction called Federalism, that was directed against "the excess of democracy"—an excess which became threatening before the close of the Revolution and culminated in the Shays Rebellion of 1786. But in a properly written constitutional history of the American people what chapter is more interesting, more instructive, or, for the healthful progress of the nation, more vitally important, than this? To this reaction we owe not only the preservation of the Union and the establishment of its national character on a firmer basis, but also escape from the danger at the time imminent, of a break in the continuity of our historical development; for this rested on Anglo-Saxon ideas and institutions; but the democracy of that period in its hatred of England and infatuation for France turned for its ideals first to the teachings of French revolutionary writers, and next to the conduct of French revolutionists.

To Mr. Thorpe's one-sided conception of constitutional history we may trace also the scant attention he bestows on the national constitution and the statesmen who have done most to nationalize the Union. The citadel of American democracy has ever been in the states, and consequently it is in their constitutions and legislation that we can study its development to greatest advantage; but in the minds of its framers, one of the chief functions of the Constitution of 1787 was to protect the interests and rights which democracy was endangering in the states, and this function it has discharged ever since. It is probable that the Constitution of 1787 as it left the hands of the convention was as little democratic, was in fact as anti-democratic as it could be without destroying all hope of acceptance by the people; its chief interest therefore to a historian of democracy grows out of the restraints, in part obviously salutary, which it imposes on that movement. It is true, however, that since the days of Jackson, and largely though by no means wholly through his personal influence and policy, the executive of the national government has become, in a higher degree than the Philadelphia convention thought possible or desirable, the servant and leader of the democracy. This circumstance does not receive from Mr. Thorpe the attention which its importance, as measured by his own conception of constitutional history, would seem to demand.

There are few features of the book so disappointing as the treatment of the statesmen who have done most to nationalize the Union. In the

index (which, it must be confessed, is not so full as it should be) there are but four references to Washington ; and of these, three express nothing as to the views of the writer, while the fourth says : " Even Washington participated in these doubts (those of Hamilton in regard to the capacity of the people for free government), but when called to the executive station, he sought to give popular institutions a fair trial." (It is fair towards the writer to state that in the portion of his work devoted to the account of state conventions it is often difficult to know whether we are reading his own views or those brought forward in the convention; hence it is possible to do him injustice by imputing opinions which he merely quotes.)

The estimate of Hamilton is as follows : " At the threshold of its existence (that of the national government) was Hamilton, the master-spirit of the doctrine of implied powers, than whom a more intelligent man, or one more honest, pure and patriotic in motive, never lived ; but his talents and his patriotism were perverted by federal doctrines, and his views and opinions of free government were erroneous. Had he not doubted the capacity of the people for free government ?" Marshall is treated with more consideration, although, in a passage which seems to be a dictum of the writer, it is averred that " Marshall's opinions on the franchise were worthy of being accepted as authority. In purely legal matters not involving constitutional powers, his opinions were always sound, but upon constitutional questions there could be no worse guide. He invariably leaned towards the power of the federal government, and, where there was no express grant of power, he was always ready to imply one upon the slenderest pretence."

Clay, Webster and Jackson fare at the hands of Mr. Thorpe but little if any better than does Washington. Indeed it is scarcely too much to say that a reader wholly dependent on this work would remain in almost total ignorance of the highest services of the statesmen who have contributed most to the excellence of American constitutions.

It is also proper to direct attention to the doctrine of parties hinted at, if not fully disclosed in the book : " The national constitution . . . was intended to be administrative, not theoretical, in character. . . . The omission of definitions has proved the wisdom of its makers and the opportunity of posterity. . . . The constitution never laid down hard and fast lines of civil procedure. Yet chiefly because such fundamental provisions were lacking, the conduct of national politics fell inevitably into the hands of political parties, and government became an affair of administration. Parties did not exist in colonial times, and they are yet in the infancy of their power. They afford full opportunity for the genius of individuals, and are the responsible means by which a conscious people adjust themselves to changing conditions."

I believe that a more thorough study of the history and philosophy of party will convince Mr. Thorpe that the conduct of national politics would have fallen into the hands of political parties even if the Constitution had abounded in definitions of the kind which he describes ; that parties

did exist in colonial times, and that without them the political progress of those times would be inexplicable, and that parties, particularly at present, do not "afford full opportunity for the genius of individuals" unless the individuals chance to excel in the arts of political management.

Hitherto we have looked at features the responsibility for which may be charged to the writer's inadequate conception of the real scope of a constitutional history of the American people. Let us now inquire concerning the method he has employed. This Mr. Thorpe explains as follows:

"The principal authorities upon which the evidence rests are the laws and constitutions of the country, and the journals, proceedings and debates of constitutional conventions. . . . Government rests on ideas and ideals. These, in so far as unfolded at the organization of the American commonwealths in the eighteenth century, are traced, some to their origin and all to their end, in the earlier chapters of the first volume. An examination of the constituency follows—the people in their local civil organization and also in their racial and social relations. Our dual system of government—state and national—sooner or later compelled issues involving the question of sovereignty. In one form the issue is stated in 1798 and compromised in 1820. The constituency itself is constantly changing and rearranging the political estate. This calls for some account of the franchise—its basis and its growth. The extension of the franchise to free negroes involves the fate of slavery. . . . The spirit of democracy seizes the constituency, and a general demand is heard that the appointive system be abolished and the elective system be substituted. This demand, active after 1820, leads to a reorganization of government in America. The process characterizes political action for the next thirty years, and appears on party records as a series of reforms in the franchise, in representation, in legislative functions, in judicial organization, in public finance, in local government, and in provisions for free schools. . . . The nature of the civil process during all these years is best understood by examining somewhat in detail the work of constituencies in the North, in the South, in the East, in the West, and at the Border. This examination is begun in the first volume and is continued in the second. The time is from 1845 to 1850, and the constituencies are Louisiana, Kentucky, Michigan and California."

The method has excellent features. In going to the debates of state constitutional conventions Mr. Thorpe has placed himself in the best possible situation for the study of his professed object, namely, the evolution of American democracy. That he has made extended use of these sources is proven by the fact that four hundred pages, two-fifths of the entire book, are given to the accounts of the conventions held by four states during the years 1845 to 1850. Without a careful comparison of these abridgments with the original reports it is impossible to give a final judgment as to their exact value. But the example is worth much, and the results amply prove the devotion, industry and skill of the writer as an investigator. There are, particularly in the first volume, chapters of great merit which may be read with profit as essays independent of the general theme. Of these perhaps the most noteworthy is the one entitled, "A People without a Country;" in this the writer describes

admirably the inhumane not to say inhuman treatment to which, in the days before the Civil War, free people of color were subjected both North and South.

ANSON D. MORSE.

Second Annual Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission of the American Historical Association, December 30, 1897. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1898. Pp. 397-679.)

THE second Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission comprises a continuation of the correspondence of Phineas Bond, British consul at Philadelphia, through the years 1790-1794, the Florida side of the French intrigues to get possession of Florida and Louisiana, and a very useful check-list of Colonial Assemblies and their Journals to the year 1800. The assemblies (lower houses) included in the list are those of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Lower Canada, Upper Canada, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee. Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania are omitted because the proceedings of their legislatures are accessible in printed volumes in chronological order; and data in regard to Prince Edward Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, Delaware, Kentucky, and the Northwest Territory have not yet been collected. No mention is made of the assemblies of the West Indian colonies. If the list is to be completed in a later Report it would be desirable to have these included.

The Bond correspondence, like the earlier installment, is chiefly interesting for the light it throws upon commerce, immigration, and related subjects. Bond reports, for example, that in 1790 almost all the immigration came through the three Delaware River ports, Newcastle, Wilmington, and Philadelphia. In the single season of 1791 the number of Irish immigrants at these ports by the tenth of September amounted to 4500. The passage cost from £3 to 3½ guineas, a surprisingly small sum for that time. In 1750 the fare from Rotterdam, according to Mitteleberger, was 60 florins, and again in 1817 Fearon tells us that a steerage passage in the ship he came in cost twelve pounds, and the passengers "had to find themselves in everything but water." The difficulties which were to arise from English impressment of American seamen are foreshadowed in the remark on p. 463: "A vast proportion of the mariners employed in navigating American ships are foreigners—too many of whom I am sorry to say are his majesty's natural born subjects," and also in the description, p. 525, of the prevalence of desertion, culminating in the assertion that "our ships are often deserted by the whole crew, in the ports of the United States, merely on the score of the superior rates of wages." Bond is also concerned at the heavy investment of English capital in United States funds in 1793. Had it not been for this English demand for American stock "it would never have reached its present

price." The prevalence of land-speculation calls forth warnings to confiding fellow-countrymen. Of the more detailed descriptions those of the yellow fever in Philadelphia and of the Whiskey Insurrection may be mentioned.

The Mangourit correspondence relating to the French designs on Florida, while not so full of dramatic interest as the letters on the Louisiana plot in the last Report, present a very vivid picture of an ambitious enterprise of which our general histories give merely a ghostlike glimpse. Mangourit, the French consul at Charleston, who was working up the expedition, was a revolutionary enthusiast whose public and private letters vibrate with political passion. The hapless refugees from San Domingo are "La corruption aristocratique que Saint Domingue a vomi dans cette contrée;" Washington's nonpartisan administration "est un monstre composé de tous les elemens politiques de la nation qui est une Macédoine de l'Espece humaine." Some of the English faction in Charleston indulging in a dinner on St. George's day, they are styled "esclaves anglais" and their festival an "orgie Georgienne." Now and then this intensity is mitigated by a vein of somewhat scholastic wit, as when the proposed capture of St. Augustine is referred to as an "operation pour avoir une bonne traduction française de la cité de Dieu par les divers Augustiens." An interesting and very early use of the term "lobby" deserves notice. Writing August 6, 1793, Mangourit expresses the hope that the "Américains éclairés" in Charleston who were joining the "Société patriotique," "ameneront la tranquillité et qu'ils deconcertent le luby."

The Florida enterprise, to the cruel disappointment of Mangourit, shared in the general wreck of Genet's mission.

One of the most interesting revelations of these papers (p. 667) is the fact that Talleyrand's instructions to Citizen Guillemardet in 1798 (H. Adams, I. 357), outlining the argument to be presented to Spain for the retrocession of Louisiana, merely reproduces the instructions given in March, 1796, to General Perignon by the Directory fifteen months before Talleyrand came into office.

This second Report of the Manuscripts Commission is edited with the same scholarly fidelity as the first, and for this service we are indebted to the chairman, Professor Jameson, and, for the Mangourit papers, to Professor Turner.

EDWARD G. BOURNE.

The Writings of James Monroe. Edited by STANISLAUS MURRAY HAMILTON. Vol. II., 1794-1796. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1899. Pp. xviii, 494.)

MR. HAMILTON's second volume has a unity which could not be imparted to the first, and which can hardly be impressed upon any later volume. It begins with the beginning of Monroe's first mission to France, and ends with its close. Nearly all the matter of the volume relates to the young envoy's negotiations in Paris, and ample opportu-

ity is given for judging his conduct in them. It was a hazardous experiment on Washington's part to send out for the management of so difficult an office a provincial Virginian of thirty-six, who was wholly inexperienced in diplomacy, however well versed he had become in the domestic portions of American politics. Moreover, to keep the peace with France and also with Great Britain had already become almost an impossibility. If Jay was well adapted to secure the one and Monroe well adapted for the other, seldom have we had envoys at Paris and London less adapted for mutual co-operation and that concert without which neither could really expect success.

At the beginning of his mission Monroe writes Jefferson that Jay, though he can easily succeed, "will arrogate to himself much merit for address in negotiation;" at the end of it he writes Madison that he sees how desirous Jay was "of embarking my reputation here in support of his, and with a view of sacrificing it, in case his merited to be sacrificed," and dwells upon the old grievance of the negotiations with Gardoqui, which had permanently prejudiced the Virginian's mind against Jay.

Add to all this the extraordinary difficulties and delays and uncertainties of communication with the Department of State at Philadelphia (heightened of late by the activity of belligerent cruisers), the constitutional inability of Secretary Randolph to make a straightforward statement in plain language, his retirement and his supersession by Pickering, who had the opposite vice of expression—and failure of one or both of the envoys may well seem to have been certain. Monroe did not wholly fail. Taking into account all the difficulties, he achieved a fair amount of success in the detailed work of his mission. But its general tone was unquestionably too Gallic, and his promise to the Committee of Public Safety that he would show them Jay's treaty when he received it was highly imprudent. Neither do his frequent remarks on French politics and the state of Europe mark him as a man of much insight and sagacity. He praises the Constitution of the Year III., and includes Barras among those "distinguished for their talents and integrity." His style, though still dull, has gained somewhat in flexibility. Contact with the world has rubbed away some of his eccentricities. His annoying use of "and which" for "which" continues, but he has dropped the writing of "hath" for "has."

There is not a great deal of new material in the volume. Of eighty-five letters of Monroe which it contains, fifty-eight had already been printed in the *American State Papers* or in Monroe's *View*, and two-thirds of another in a foot-note of Sparks's *Washington*, where it is given its correct date of January 3, 1796 (Mr. Hamilton, p. 164, has it a year out of place, January 3, 1795). The remaining twenty-six are derived from the Madison, Monroe, Jefferson and Washington papers in the Library of the Department of State. Mr. Hamilton gives no hint of the provenance of any of the letters, old or new, with a few exceptions. Of the new, all but five are letters to Jefferson and Madison, and many of these supply an interesting private commentary on the public transac-

tions. One of the most interesting passages in these letters is that in which (pp. 440-442) Monroe details one of the inconveniences to which he was subjected by his generosity toward Thomas Paine. After securing Paine's release from prison he kept him at his house, sick and impecunious, for many months. Pichon assured Ticknor that Monroe was far too much under Paine's influence; Mr. Conway thinks that Paine was a masculine Egeria to him, and gave him in good advice a full equivalent for all the money he got from him. However this may be, one's sympathy goes out to Monroe, for Paine cannot have been altogether successful as a household pet. John Wilkes or Charles Bradlaugh may have done great things for civil liberty, but may also have been "gey ill to live wi'." Those of us who still think, after all Mr. Conway has written, that Paine was essentially a low fellow, will be interested in the letter mentioned. Monroe expressed to Paine the wish that, while in his house, he would not write anything for publication on American affairs, lest it react on him. Paine not only disputed the principle, but, to Monroe's extreme annoyance, made private efforts to evade the restriction suggested by his benefactor.

Many interesting documents, not written by Monroe, are given by Mr. Hamilton in his foot-notes. His own notes are sparing and judicious, and his texts lay us all under obligations. There are, however, many instances of careless proof-reading, such as the interchange of "posts" and "ports" (important when the question of the western posts is so prominent), "Vendu" for "Vendee," etc. The third volume, if it will really let us into the arcana of Jeffersonian politics in Virginia from 1796 to 1801, will be eagerly awaited.

Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri. The Personal Narrative of CHARLES LARPELLEUR, 1833-1872. Edited with many critical notes by ELLIOTT COUES. (New York: Francis P. Harper. 1898. Two vols., pp. xxvii, viii, 473.)

THIS book is original matter through and through. From fragments set down now and then and memories of fur-trade as early as 1833, it was written out by its author in 1872. The manuscript was unknown to the editor, Dr. Coues, till 1897.

The work embodies the experiences of forty years on the dual Missouri-Mississippi river and its affluents upward from St. Louis. The author, Larpenteur, born 1807 in France, reached the great river the year that he came of age, and in 1833, being short and slender, with some difficulty obtained employment in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company as a common hand. He was at once packed off with some forty others, each in charge of three mules, to the mouth of the Yellowstone. Their route was first to the upper waters of that stream and very circuitous, being by way of the head of Green river which flows into the Gulf of California. No wonder the caravan was five months on the march. Ft. Union, the point thus reached, was the head-centre from which Larpenteur

teur's activities in the service of various rival organizations, or as a free trapper and trader, radiated for nearly four decades. The first steamer that ever ascended so far had arrived only the year before his coming, or in 1832. His own long voyages up and down were frequent in canoe, Mackinaw boat and steamboat. He once came up on horseback, a six weeks' ride from St. Louis. He became a squaw man, that is, took an Indian wife. Learning something of Indian dialects, he was of use as an interpreter, and had influence in Indian councils. During his first campaign he had been chosen to displace an incompetent clerk.

His narrative, as we judge, is on the whole the most entertaining and yet pathetic portrayal of the American fur-trade during the second third of our century. Its true inwardness is turned inside out by a chronicler whose eyes were never opened to see much difference between good and evil, and who so saw nothing to conceal.

The fur-trade in beginning, middle, and end meant whiskey. Common hands were engaged at sixteen dollars a month but were charged five dollars a pint for whiskey, so that companies had very little to pay as wages. Whiskey was sold to Indians at still dearer rates. Larpenteur once for five gallons bought twenty horse-loads of fur, some of which brought five dollars a pound. He mentions about a hundred forts. What were they? Each was an acre walled in by a perpendicular Indian-proof fence fifteen feet high, to safeguard horses, their owners, and whiskey. Into one corner of this trap Indians were persuaded to enter "like rats that ravin down their proper bane," mostly by night, and to part with furs for infuriating drafts. They were then turned outside the gates, and nobody cared how soon these furibund vagabonds starved, or froze, or scalped one another not knowing what they did.

Arms, powder, and blankets in aid of hunting, and a few trinkets, as beads, bells, and hand looking-glasses were thrown in by traders as baits for catching further plunder. It is too plain that saloons and those not of the best stripe are the names best befitting fur-forts.

All introduction of whiskey was indeed prohibited by United States laws, and all boats bound up the river were thoroughly searched (p. 57). Those laws proved to be cobwebs which big flies broke through and little ones crept through. Liquor was smuggled in, either clandestinely or by bribing officials, or it was sworn in as a medical necessity. A distillery was even secretly started at the Ft. Union fur-centre, corn being obtained from squaws in neighboring tribes. Standing a thousand miles deep in a *terra incognita* this fatal fountain flowed for some time unchecked and undetected.

In the long run selling whiskey was a losing business. It killed or unmanned hunters. It roused cheated victims to bloody revenge. Fire-water burned the fingers of those who were bringing it up. Thus Larpenteur says: "The steamer *Chippewa* was set on fire by one of the hands who had gone down into the hold to steal liquor. Some of it having run upon his clothes while he was drawing it, the candle came in contact with the wet parts and ignited them. He was badly burned, and

then the boat took fire. Immediately upon the alarm being given the boat was landed, and she was abandoned. Nothing could be saved for fear of the explosion which soon followed—of twenty-five kegs of powder in the magazine," p. 325. The spot became known as Disaster Point. In many ways whiskey was in evidence as twice cursed—cursing those who gave as well as those who took. It was when sailors had succeeded in safely stealing and in drinking whiskey that the sequels were most disastrous. Fatal fights followed with one another and with natives they encountered. Internecine feuds were generated, ended only by murder. Vessels were snagged and sunk by drunken crews, and fur-trading became more and more a lottery with an ever-increasing percentage of blanks. Few drew more blanks than Larpenteur, and there was no greater cheat. His forte lay in trading whiskey for furs. His success in this overreaching was phenomenal. Hence after he had become an outcast from many other positions, he never ceased to be in demand as a fur and whiskey intermediary. Within that circle none might walk but he. At the same point where he began to sell ardent spirits for his company in 1833, there, when cast out of all service, he still sold them successfully till stopped by a special act of Congress in 1871, which banished him from the reservation. Larpenteur, if we believe his journal, was affected by his environment as a Spartan wished his sons to be by the helots whom he forced into intoxication, for he declares himself always sober, p. 161. How then could he love daily contact with a thing he loathed! His whole career shows him to have been a bundle of paradoxes.

JAMES D. BUTLER.

Horace Mann and the Common School Revival in the United States.

By B. A. HINSDALE, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Pedagogy in the University of Michigan. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1898. Pp. vii, 326.)

MR. HINSDALE has paid his readers the compliment of allowing them to interpret Horace Mann for themselves, by using Mr. Mann's own language to convey the 'motive power' of his ideas. The purpose declared in the preface to the book is well carried out, namely: "To set before the reader Horace Mann as an educator in his historical position and relation." It is this historical position which Mr. Hinsdale has most clearly and forcibly stated. The outline of Mr. Mann's character is drawn with a clearness and dignity which makes the book in many ways a model for students. The steps of advance which Mann made in the educational progress of the country are presented with equal order and force. Mr. Mann was a Puritan, bound in his youth with the rigidity of denominationalism. Throughout his life he strove to translate both himself and his whole environment into that more fluent and democratic society for which he gave his life. His two leading mental qualities are his genius in discovering and stating exactly the weak points in the schools as he found them; and second, his quickness and daring in

indicating practical lines for immediate improvement. Mr. Mann's own words are the best statement of the mental muddle existing under the old formalities. "With the infinite universe all around us ready to be daguerreotyped upon our souls, we were never placed at the right focus to receive its glorious images. With all our senses and our faculties growing and receptive, how little were we taught; or rather, how much obstruction was placed between us and nature's teaching."

Mr. Mann's continual plea was for better teachers. "The two great needs of the American teacher are emancipation from the text-book and more oral instruction." By oral instruction the individuality of the child is reached. In everything he looked for the free and independent development of the individual, always recognizing the social quality which lies in the nature of this development. He fought for emancipation from the bondage of denominationalism and the release of the child from direct religious instruction in the school; from the limitations which the mere conning of text-books always imposes upon ideas; and for the breaking down of all the barriers which perpetuated the isolation of the child and the school.

To this end he brought about by means of legislation the substitution of union schools for district schools; and this is the real foundation of the common-school system in its present form. In the same manner he brought about the formation of the normal schools; and against great opposition and almost persecution he convinced the tax-payers of Massachusetts that public education must be regarded as a good investment for the public funds. His struggle for the enlargement of the courses of study was equally earnest and productive of results. He reduced the large number of text-books in the schools; he declared that manual training must become a part of the curriculum, "not so much for the sake of fitting for trades as for the mental discipline to be derived from it." His continual insistence was for giving a more practical direction to all the studies upon which children spend their time. He also declared for the equal chance of men and women in all educational work; his influence is felt through all the new Western institutions where they were just beginning in 1850 to try this new phase of democracy. It is interesting also to note Mr. Mann's attention (based upon his insistence on the needs of the body) to the new science of phrenology, which was the forerunner of the new psychology.

In general the great advance which Horace Mann brought about in the consciousness of the public lay in his stating that the relation of man to God which had kept the souls of the Puritans on the rack must be worked out through the practical relations of men to each other, and that in and through education these relations must be brought to consciousness. He felt the ethical and human force of democracy in relation to education.

Professor Hinsdale has given us an admirable statement of the external historical features of the common-school movement—the attempt to realize this ideal of Horace Mann's. He has shown both the historical

conditions out of which Mann's work arose, the contemporary changes which accompanied it, and, in the final chapter, some statement of the more important steps that have been taken since Mann's death. The tremendous growth in the extent and complexity of the machinery of the public school system; the increase in public taxation for the maintenance of the schools; the pouring out of private fortunes for educational endowment; the growth of the normal-school idea; the modifications in the course of study as well as in methods of instruction along lines clearly indicated by Mann—these points are well sketched. What we miss, however, is an evaluation, upon Professor Hinsdale's part, of the intrinsic significance of the underlying point of view, and the attempt to measure the import of external changes by reference to their intrinsic ideal. This, however, perhaps lay outside the scope of Mr. Hinsdale's book; and our failure to receive it should not make us less grateful for what he has so successfully accomplished. He has given the ethical intensity of Mann's own personality even if his appreciation of the ethic of the movement Mann represented is somewhat reserved.

JOHN DEWEY.

Life and Public Services of Edwin M. Stanton. By GEORGE C. GORHAM. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co. Two vols., pp. xv, 456; xiv, 502.)

UNTIL recently Stanton was the only one of the great members of Lincoln's cabinet whose career had never been fully described. The two principal reasons for this were, that he neither sought nor obtained wide popularity, and that his public life was almost entirely confined to the War Department. For about ten weeks he was Buchanan's Attorney-General; and it was not until the shadow of death was upon him that he became a Justice of the Supreme Court. To write an important and interesting biography of such a man required a great amount of study and investigation, much enthusiasm, and considerable skill in the use of facts. Mr. Gorham possesses all these qualities, and has produced a work of extraordinary value; it is a zealous and successful defence and eulogy of our greatest Secretary of War.

Now for the first time we know the particulars of Stanton's life before 1860. The boy who was left so poor by his father's death that at the age of thirteen he had to become a clerk, did not receive a very encouraging start in life. Fortunately the petty clerkship was in a bookstore. From there he went to Kenyon College, where he continued his studies for more than two years, before lack of further means compelled him to return to earning a salary. For a time he expected to be able to complete his college education; but when he found this impossible he began to read law, and at the age of twenty-two he was admitted to the bar. From near the beginning of his professional career Stanton displayed the elements of greatness. He worked eagerly and unremittingly, says his biographer, "not as an irksome necessity, but with a stimulating resolve

to win." He soon outgrew the small practice that was obtainable in such a place as Steubenville, Ohio ; so, in 1847, he went to Pittsburg to live. Within the next few years he won some very important cases in the Supreme Court of the United States, and had been retained in so many cases that he moved to Washington, near the end of 1856. It was only a short time before his abilities were recognized by Buchanan's administration and he was appointed as special counsel for the Federal government in some land cases that involved many millions of dollars. After we know of his prodigious industry and skill in detecting and defeating the Limantour land frauds we begin to appreciate the mental and physical energy of Edwin M. Stanton.

Stanton can be understood politically only when we bear in mind that he was almost entirely devoid of the instincts of the politician and of the reformer. He was a Jacksonian Unionist, and resented the reflection implied by Southern aspirations for secession and expansion. If he had ever been a genuine Free-Soiler he never could have stood by Buchanan in the infamous efforts to force slavery upon Kansas. Stanton was primarily a lawyer—a lawyer who would not defend the side that he knew to be wrong, but he was very likely to be influenced by his associations and prejudices after he once became interested in his case. Our author has a strange aversion to the politics of the period from 1840 to 1860 ; he can spare but nine pages for it. Yet it was the time when Stanton's political tendencies and traits should have manifested themselves. A man's failures and inconsistencies are often as important as his successes and logical persistence. Undoubtedly the truth is, that Stanton was bent on winning his law cases and did not care much more for freedom than Douglas or Buchanan did.

When Cass resigned from Buchanan's cabinet in December, 1860, and Jeremiah S. Black became Secretary of State, Stanton was chosen as Attorney-General, because he was a great lawyer. If any one man may be said to have prevented the peaceful establishment of the Confederacy, that man was Stanton ; this service would not have been performed if he had been a politician. Both the biographer and the subject appear at their best in the 110 pages that treat of the period between December 20, 1860, and March 4, 1861. There Stanton stands a lion in the path of the scheming, subtle, threatening secessionists and of the timid, weak Buchanan and of the pettifogging, inconsistent Black. After Stanton had called treason, theft and cowardice by their right names, Buchanan had to stop denouncing Unionists and decide whether, after all, secessionists were the only patriots and altogether right. Mr. Gorham's criticisms of the President and of Black are very effective, but not too severe. The perspective of treason and cowardice is well made.

For Lincoln to put at the head of the War Department, after Cameron's miserable failure, a man whom he hardly knew, except as a Democrat and a severe critic of his administration, was certainly very strange. "He was appointed," says Mr. Gorham, "because, in addition to his great ability, his restless energy, and his absolute honesty, he was an un-

conditional Unionist of the Democratic faith, and his appointment would be a proof to the country that Mr. Lincoln regarded the war as the people's war and not that of a party. His personal relations with General McClellan were known to be good, and it was hoped that his administration of the War Department would set in motion the army, the inactivity of which the general in command had attributed to a want of support from the Executive" (I. 240).

In June, 1861, Stanton had said that the corruption that surrounded the War Department seemed "to poison with venomous breath the very atmosphere," and that the army appointments were bestowed upon men whose only claim was their Republicanism,—“broken-down politicians without ability, experience or other merit.” Mr. Gorham gives us the particulars as to how Stanton reorganized the department and corrected abuses in many directions. Stanton had taken charge for the sole purpose of making it possible for the Federals to conquer the Confederates, and he seemed to have no other thought until the end. That is why he was impatient, terribly industrious, and often severe and rude. Those who fought with vigor and moderate discretion had his support and were pushed forward. Those who dallied or disobeyed orders thought him a relentless enemy.

McClellan belonged to the latter class, as is generally known. Although the author notices the differences with other officers, a sort of test-case is made of the complaints preferred by McClellan. The way in which this ever-complaining general is followed step by step, refuted out of his own mouth, criticized, ridiculed and cut with the sword of sarcasm comes so near to cruelty that the reader often begins to pity a general who had not capacity or courage enough either to fight like a Napoleon or to plot treason like an Arnold. Many others have reviewed McClellan's movements with severe criticism. Mr. Gorham has covered the man with contempt. Here are a few sentences taken from different places: "Throughout his military career, he always appeared to act upon the idea that those who desired him to fight were plotting his downfall" (I. 332). "He feared the enemy was so weak that he would abandon Richmond and go south without a fight, and yet so strong that he would crush the Union army. And so he stood still and did nothing" (I. 411). "It seems to have become the settled policy of General McClellan to act on the defensive towards the rebels, and to make offensive war only upon his own government" (I. 414). After relating how McClellan failed to obey Lincoln's positive order to pursue Lee after the battle of Antietam, and kept calling for supplies, especially cavalry horses, Mr. Gorham remarks: "In fact, he wanted almost everything. Obedience by him to the President's order seemed out of the question as long as there was stationery on which to make requisitions for what he already had" (II. 68). That this is not trifling sarcasm is made plain by Lincoln's telegram to McClellan: "I have read your despatch about sore tongue and fatigued horses. Will you pardon me for asking what the horses of your army have done since the battle of Antietam that fatigues anything?"

Sherman's quarrel with Stanton about the terms that he entered into with Johnston is treated with much more moderation, as it deserves to be ; but the vindication of the Secretary of War is no less complete.

About one-half of the second volume is devoted to the period of Reconstruction. Here the author has given too much space to general questions and to quoting from reconstruction documents where concise and careful summaries are the most that are needed. When Stanton takes up the long and bitter struggle with Johnson the story increases in interest and value, and much new material and original comment are contributed. The author seems to us to attribute too many of the acts of Johnson and of the ex-Confederate leaders to conspiracy and not enough to a perfectly natural prejudice against the negro and Federal interference. Likewise there were more prejudice and anger on the part of Stanton and the men who shaped Congressional reconstruction and tried to get Johnson out of the White House than is admitted.

As a defence of Stanton the work is a great success, but there seems to be room to doubt if it will make Stanton popular. The reasons for this are that the narrative is too long for the length of Stanton's career, and that there has been no attempt to make a careful and frank analysis of Stanton's character and traits in their weakness as well as in their strength. If the author would condense these octavo volumes into one and would give more space to a consideration of Stanton's peculiarities, he would spread the fame of his hero and win the popularity that he himself has already earned by his serious undertaking. Stanton deserves to be very prominent among a score of the greatest of our national heroes.

FREDERIC BANCROFT.

War Memories of an Army Chaplain. By H. CLAY TRUMBULL, formerly Chaplain of the Tenth Regiment of Connecticut Volunteers. (New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1898. Pp. x, 421.)

THIS is an interesting and valuable work, not primarily historical in aim yet casting upon the history of the Civil War a good deal of important light. The author's experiences covered nearly the entire period of the war, and were extremely varied and characteristic. His service lay in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia and Florida. He was in many battles, among them some of the bloodiest, in several Confederate prisons, for a time in solitary confinement out of suspicion that he was a spy. This personal record is as entertaining as can be ; parts of it are thrilling. Much space is devoted to revelations of soldiers' character and morals, the author thinking with Archbishop Ireland, who during the war was chaplain to the Fifth Minnesota regiment, that "a chaplain can write much better than any one else about the inner spirit of armies." We do not consider this true. A chaplain cannot become familiar with the soldier's worst character or doings. He only sees the best phases. The best phases are, however, instructive, and no other writer, save Rev.

J. William Jones, for the Confederates, has portrayed them quite so well as Mr. Trumbull does. But if the soldiers of the Union army were as a class perhaps less deeply concerned with religious ministrations than our author seems to suppose, they certainly do not deserve the dreadful condemnation which he has pronounced on them on p. 177. "General Washington said truly that while there were soldiers who were controlled by a desire for glory or by a high sense of patriotism, so that they could be depended on for going into action as a matter of duty or of honor regardless of selfish considerations, *the great majority of men* were held to their places as soldiers by their knowledge that the danger of running from the front was greater than that of moving forward in battle line. *This was as true of the soldiers of the Union army in our Civil War as of Continental troops in the War of the Revolution*" (italics ours). Such a judgment about the "majority" of soldiers is an insufferable exaggeration. If Washington really wrote as alleged, the traditional view that he found mendacity impossible is disproved. If "the great majority" of soldiers do not in battles think any too much of glory or of patriotism pure and simple, it is slanderous to allege that they are kept in line by bare fear of running away. Mr. Trumbull was, of course, simply nodding when he wrote this passage, for nearly every page of his book refutes it.

Two or three points of more technically "historical" importance are set forth in these *Memories*. One of them is brought out in Chapter VIII., on "Deserters and Desertions," where it is made clear how the high bounties paid for substitutes as the war advanced conduced to desertions. Men entered the service for money, deserted, and then enlisted again for more money, and so on. "In single regiments one-fourth, and again one-half, and yet again a larger proportion, of all the men assigned under a new call of the President for 500,000 more volunteers, deserted within a few weeks of their being started to the front." Soldiers remember that after having long and vainly applied the death penalty as a means of checking desertions, our government, late in the war, changed policy, offering immunity and honorable discharge to all deserters then actually in service who should confess their crimes and agree faithfully to serve out their terms. The result was good, proving that many deserters were brave men who had simply been swept off their feet by the spirit of greed so rife among civilians at home. Mr. Trumbull appears to have been the author of this change in the method of dealing with deserters. When severity multiplied rather than lessened the number deserting, he reasoned that the new deserters were probably old deserters led by the executions to fear that their turn would come next. This surmise—undoubtedly correct—Chaplain Trumbull communicated to Lt. Col. Goodyear, from whom, through Gen. Ord, it was reported to Washington, resulting in President Lincoln's proclamation of March 11, 1865, in the tenor indicated above.

Trumbull's *Memories* help to a dispassionate view of the treatment accorded Federal prisoners in Confederate prisons; and such a view will

differ considerably from that formed by most Northern people during and immediately after the war. Most of the principal prisons were certainly horrible places, cramped, dirty, unsanitary; the diet was bad and meagre; many of the keepers were cruel. That all the sufferings of Union soldiers in these pens were due to the Confederacy's poverty alone can never be shown. For all this, as the *Memories*, Chapter XI., reveal, Southern citizens and Confederate officers and men not only showed kindness to Federal prisoners, but often went out of their way to do this. The worst inflictions were due to "the caprices of their enlisted men, volunteers or conscripts, sometimes coarse, ignorant, and even brutal in spirit and conduct, who were on guard in charge of us, and even the officers themselves were at times compelled to carry out orders from those above them which they could not but regret. The Confederate prisoners on the floor above us were even more severely dealt with than ourselves." When nigh to death from innutrition in the Columbia prison Mr. Trumbull himself was supplied by a neighboring hotel-keeper with the food to which alone he attributes his recovery, the donor refusing to take a cent in payment.

The *Memories* furnish pleasing proof how common loyalty to the Union was at the South during the war. The author declares that he was never for any length of time in a company of Confederates without hearing expressions of tender regard for the old flag, and of hope that the Federal cause would win. In most sections a large minority, in some a majority, did not wish secession, and not a few even of those who voted for it did so with the most obscure and vague ideas of its meaning. Numbers of such Unionists were forced into the Confederate service notwithstanding, and fought with real bravery and with apparent zeal for the cause which they detested. The history of the war in this aspect can never be very fully written, since so many carried their loyalty as a sweet secret till death in battle or in hospital forever sealed their lips; so that students should make the most of such testimony in the matter as does in one way and another emerge.

E. BENJ. ANDREWS.

The War with Spain. By CHARLES MORRIS. (Philadelphia: The J. B. Lippincott Co. 1899. Pp. 383.)

Our Navy in the War with Spain. By JOHN R. SPEARS. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. Pp. xxii, 406.)

The Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns. By RICHARD HARDING DAVIS. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. Pp. viii, 360.)

In Cuba with Shafter. By JOHN D. MILEY, Lieutenant-Colonel and Inspector-General, U. S. Volunteers, First Lieutenant, U. S. Artillery. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. Pp. xi, 228.)

Campaigning in Cuba. By GEORGE KENNAN. (New York : The Century Co. 1899. Pp. 269.)

With Sampson through the War. By A. M. GOODE. (New York : The Doubleday and McClure Co. 1899. Pp. 307.)

No history of contemporary events can be final. Mr. Morris's book gives a useful sketch of their sequence in the Spanish War, illustrated rather by pictures than by military charts. Skeleton histories are fast filling up with stories of personal experiences, and meanwhile Mr. Morris gives us a crisp narrative, breathing full-chested patriotism, and naturally exaggerating both the dangers and the exploits of what, after all said, remains a hyper-lucky war.

Ten days after the declaration of war, Dewey dared the plunging fire of Corregidor, and sailed into Manila Bay. Ignoring mines, he pushed safely through what the Spaniards should have made a fatal passage. He had superior ships ; but Cavite carried twice as heavy guns, knowing which his act showed true American grit. Dewey believed in his ships, in his men. But Fortune smiled on him as she loves to smile on those only who compel her favors.

In 1865 we had the best navy in the world ; in 1873 the worst, as Mr. Spears points out. How characteristic of our American happy-go-lucky habit ! Trusting to expedients when the time shall come, we have so far escaped the penalty, but having now entered the European economy, must we not mend our ways ? Our new navy was begun in 1882, but Congressional parsimony is illustrated in the nine shots per gun per year to which navy gunnery was limited. Roosevelt, when in the Navy Department, increased the allowance, and our gunners quickly perfected their natural aptitude for shooting straight. Well it was, for at best, naval gunnery is erratic : the destruction at Manila and Santiago was wrought by three per cent. of hits by the smaller, much less by the big guns. Though brave the Spaniards ceased to shoot well so soon as our guns opened. Indiscreet courage goes for little, and our enemy, from inability to handle their weapons, went down. Marksmanship, as Admiral Sampson points out in Mr. Goode's book, depends upon gun-captains who are good judges of distance and of the motion of the ships and who can quickly adjust their range-sights. We alone had these men.

The navy has an appreciative biographer in Mr. Spears. With its brilliant international triumphs, it always appeals to our patriotism as the army does not, and as a happy corollary it is, unlike the less spectacular infantry, rarely subjected to grievous loss. This detracts not one iota from the navy's due : every man stands ready to go down with his ship ; but is it not wonderful that the achievements of 1898 could be purchased at a loss of only twenty men killed ? Especially here does luck show up ; for a single 10-inch shell might have sunk our biggest battle-ship. The fearlessness of the tars and the enterprise of the officers is illustrated by Mr. Spears in his narrative of the cable-cutting at Cienfuegos, of the marines at Guantanamo, of Hobson's splendid exploit (the pity of its injudicious

praise !), of the tackling, by the *Yosemite* single-handed, of the *Lopez*, two cruisers, one torpedo boat and the forts at San Juan de Porto Rico, of the saving of life from sinking ships, and of many other exploits. And note that the so-called "bookworms" of the navy were neck-and-neck with the line.

Mr. Davis's book ought to be entitled "*What I saw* of the Cuban and Porto Rican Campaigns." Chatty and entertaining, it is a sort of picture-book (of which the hearsay is the least interesting) full of individual acts of bravery and with enough blood-spots to suit the lover of terrible war. The latest act of bravery is always the greatest. But it does not add to the effectiveness of a battle-tale to exaggerate the hotness of the fire or the heroism of the combatants. "Murderous fire" is measured by casualties. No words can overdraw the gallantry of the men whose business it is not, and yet who go forth to war. But is it true praise for a newspaper to talk of "one of the most brilliant assaults in history," when the killed and wounded are a bare dozen ; or to talk of facing a "hellish" fire, when the total casualties are but eight per cent.? Scores of regiments in the Civil War lost over fifty per cent. in some one action, a few eighty per cent. To be sure they had Anglo-Saxons to face, and while still called "Volunteers," they had been trained into the very best of regulars. It is ungracious, so soon after the courageous exploits of to-day's heroes, to bring the matter down to statistics ; but carping criticism on the general management of the war demands the reiteration of the fact that its battle casualties are exceptionally low ; and that the loss by disease was far less than usual.

The Spanish War lasted a "short term" from the declaration of war to protocol, or a "long term" of about one year. In round figures the average killed and wounded per week per 100,000 under arms, was 60 for short term, 30 for long term ; during the Civil War it was over 350. Deaths from all causes for short term were 150, long term 75 ; during the Civil War 230.

These figures do not prove the conduct of the war immaculate ; that is another question ; but they prove trifling the losses which yellow journalism has so unnecessarily flaunted in the eyes of the universe.

In another sense the war losses have been insignificant. In 1898, in the United States, nearly as many people were killed by lightning as were killed in battle ; more passengers were injured in railroad accidents than wounded in battle. Six times as many were killed by explosions, accidents in mines and falling buildings ; six times as many in fires ; ten times as many were drowned, not including marine disasters. In fact love drove to suicide as many as battle-lust claimed. But the usual fails to impress us ; the unusual always strikes the imagination.

It would be unreasonable to curb the hyperbole of the war-correspondent who fearlessly accompanies the fighting line. Much as the work of the Rough Riders has been before the public, it can scarcely be overpraised. In its ranks were men whose motto was solely "Noblesse Oblige," and men to whom a shooting affray was but the condiment of

daily life. Under such leaders as Wood and Roosevelt, how should the Rough Riders not make a record? There is no need to praise the regular. We know him and what we can always look to him to do. But we owe a debt to all volunteers which we are glad to pay, and which we shall not be allowed to forget.

Mr. Davis's fondness for criticism is fairly leashed, except in speaking of the conduct of the Santiago campaign—his pet horror. The critic is free from trammels and possesses facts which the commander ignored; and thus equipped (I speak from ancient experience) criticism becomes so easy that as one gains knowledge one becomes more tolerant. No doubt the Santiago campaign bristles with errors. The transports did sail in careless order; the landing of the troops for lack of boats was haphazard; the handling of supplies might have been better managed; it would have been well had General Shafter remained in robust health. But this was not purely a military campaign; it was a race against disease, a manœuvre which ought to have failed, and but for the Providence which watches over American destinies would have failed. Had Santiago been but half defended, our attack would have been thrust back. An immense levy of raw troops, supplies hastily collected and put in charge of new-made officers (even a Wanamaker's success comes from and depends on trained subordinates), lack of preparation in every department, a deadly climate, political ideas to the fore,—what was the apparent chance of success in Cuba? When politics holds most of the trumps in the game of war, soldiers cannot take all the tricks. And yet we won, by crude, crass luck—supplemented by gallant if not perfect management and weak opposition. If to-day's journalistic searchlights had been turned on most of the successful campaigns of the past, we should see material for criticism of even the greatest commanders, in comparison with which all allegations against Shafter would seem puerile. The good old days of war when the leader marched out, conscious that if he returned successful he was above criticism, have passed and gone.

But the public has its rights. Even Napoleon was criticized—though he took good care it should not be by war-correspondents.

Mr. Davis's description of the San Juan and El Caney fights is picturesque. Luckily the Spaniards did not hold their rifle-pits, as the Confederates did at Fredericksburg. These fights have been claimed to be the soldiers', not the commanders', battles. So have been many others; and yet Thapsus remains Caesar's, Mission Ridge Grant's victory.

That the Porto Rico campaign was better planned was due to General Miles having substantially his own way; that it succeeded was largely due to a more friendly population. The pages devoted to Porto Rico are pleasant reading.

Dewey's success in Manila, in passing, owes much to distance. Had he been in Cuban waters, who can presage equal military and popular success? Even Marlborough could gain no victories until he got beyond the control of the Dutch deputies; Nelson had no need to cut a cable. Every disease has its sequelae. The Manila disease, according to the

people's diagnosis, was broken up on May 1; but the sequelae threaten to be serious and lasting. Gallant Montojo was annihilated with eight wounded on our side; since then, in perhaps only the first steps of our occupation, some 1600 have been killed and wounded; and something over 300 men have died of disease. Despite our hopes of speedy Filipino collapse, the American people will be happy if our Asian colony does not become a national cemetery.

The military student turns with pleasure and profit to the even-handed, keen statement of facts by Colonel Miley of the headquarters staff, whose soldierly leaven gives authority to every page. Writing as an advocate, Colonel Miley would have made a less good case; General Shafter is happy in his historian. The maps supply a marked need, as the accentuation of the ground and the movements are carefully set down. No space is devoted to personal details. The facts are clearly and conservatively given, and the reader finds these such as to need no bolstering by argument. Some things are left unsaid, but the book is not penned to satisfy the press.

Shafter was handicapped. His destination and purpose were uncertain until almost the last days at Tampa. Orders were of necessity changeable. The volunteers were but half equipped, and supplies came in piece-meal. One train brought meat; another coffee; a third hard bread. There was no place to store and select the rations, and scant time in which to victual the transports. Artillery, arms and ammunition arrived from different arsenals, and each gun had to be assembled. Wharfage was limited. Water on the transports was used by the troops already on board and awaiting final orders, which were alternately for speed or delay. The one railroad track was insufficient, and yet trains of sightseers and friends and relations blocked this track much of the time. Correspondents who must be tolerated gave away important information, though, be it said to his credit, the high-grade correspondent respected himself in respecting the limitations imposed by honor. Despite all, our first foreign expedition of 16,000 men, after orders as contradictory as the phantom cruise of Cervera, was got off with fair speed, arrived safely and was disembarked (thanks to the navy) without loss. It might have been done better, says the civilian critic; but was there not room for much more blundering? War is hide-and-seek in the dark. It is a question of who will make the fewest blunders. Once ashore, lusty Wheeler pressed on and won the fight at Las Guasimas. Thence the advance was pushed by Shafter's able lieutenants, over almost impracticable ground, to contact with the enemy; headquarters was moved June 30 to a point whence El Caney and San Juan hill could be seen, and the battle of July 1 supervened. From landing to winning a battle which necessitated the surrender of Santiago was but a week. To ration the troops over apologies for roads, with transportation lamentably inefficient, was a serious undertaking, and fever was sure to come within a month. No soldier maintains that Shafter's management was perfect. Tried by the measure applied by critics to this one, it might be hard to find

a perfect campaign in history. War must as a rule be gauged by success ; and if we could imagine Shafter beyond interference, and accomplishing what he did without the criticism of newspapers, of inexperienced officers, of hungry men who had thrown away their rations rather than carry them, and of hysterical friends at home, and all this at a loss far below the average, should we not have yielded him the proper meed of praise ? Imagine the movement with regulars alone, used to hardship and expecting it, and unaccompanied by correspondents who must furnish copy for glowing headlines—would there have been much fault found ? It is an axiom that the work of able subordinates redounds to the commander's credit—and Shafter's subordinates were highly efficient.

In a number of chapters which are easy, agreeable reading, Mr. Kennan gives a much-needed account of the doings of the Red Cross, and his personal adventures when quarantined in Santiago lend a crisp idea of what manner of city it then was. He dilates on the gigantic preparations of the press, on their fifteen or twenty big despatch-boats and numerous small launches ; on the herculean labors performed and risks run by the correspondents in furnishing early advices of what was going on ; and on the vast sums and facilities put at their disposal. Despite Manila censorship, we surely need not doubt the freedom of the press ! The old-fashioned military student has learned that no success can be expected unless the commander is an autocrat, and he looks aghast at the modern army of critics swarming around headquarters. Now that electricity can put the general in hourly communication with the War Department, it is doubtful whether ever again there can be wars on the old plan, where, for the time being, real power is committed to one man.

In Mr. Kennan's book much stress is laid on the lack of supplies, on the things the soldier had to do without. Turning back to an old diary kept during the Civil War, I find, in 1862 and 1863, when our war was many months old, incidents which might be bodily transferred to any of the books under review. Though wearing shoulderstraps, I often went without hard-tack on the march ; I was once reduced to wheat-kernels gathered in the fields ; to have enough crackers, salt pork and coffee to keep from gnawing hunger was deemed unusual luxury ; beef rarely reached me ; and as to cooking, the ubiquitous tin cup and nature's tools sufficed. We worked, sick or well ; as to medical attendance, I once lay four days wounded without any. Nor was my case unusual. War is always hell—to which rule there is no exception. The soldiers, aye and the officers, of the best equipped army that since the days of Philip of Macedon has ever started on a campaign, the Prussian army in 1870 to wit, all went hungry time and time again. Even Bismarck himself, in wealthy France, was more than once at a loss for a bite to appease his hunger—vide his memoirs.

We owe much to Mr. Kennan for his interesting work, in which he opens up and cultivates a new field in a most efficient manner ; but he will pardon us if we refrain from taking his criticism of the Santiago campaign too seriously. Overmuch of it is hearsay. Its tendency is,

however, the same that is preached by all the war-books, that unless we learn now, as we never have in the past, to keep prepared in earnest, all our future wars will be more full of hardship, and probably of disaster, than the last one.

Admiral Sampson possesses a staunch champion in Mr. Goode, who, as correspondent of the Associated Press, was aboard the flagship *New York*, and gives us numberless details about the daily life on our battle-ships. The successive books on the Spanish War are much like the once fashionable *air varié*; and the variations played on the original theme are as diverting as they are numerous. Considerable space is devoted to the unfortunate journalistic Sampson-Schley controversy. After all said, the commanding admiral is entitled to the lion's share of the prize-money and the credit. If fleets are to be homogeneous bodies, no other rule will do.

The chapter by Admiral Sampson himself is noteworthy as showing how completely outclassed Cervera was. We had three first-class and two second-class battle-ships, two armored cruisers and two improvised torpedo-boat destroyers; the enemy had but four armored cruisers and two torpedo-boat destroyers. Still our speedy victory was due to superior gunnery and our national habit of confidence. Had the forces been reversed, we might yet have won. Captain Evans, in an equally interesting chapter, sums up the lessons of the war as a need of long distance and fast cruisers, torpedo-boat destroyers, and colliers; a need of smokeless powder and fuel, a good range-finder, and better communication in and between ships.

So much has been written about this war that there is scant room for Mr. Goode or for anyone else to say anything distinctly new; but the book is remunerative reading. It might be added that the plethora of war criticism has equally forestalled any novelty from the pen of a reviewer.

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.

The History of South America from its Discovery to the Present Time, compiled from the Works of the best Authors and from authentic Documents, many hitherto unpublished, in various Archives and public and private Libraries in America and Spain. By an American. Translated from the Spanish by ADNAH H. JONES. (London: Swan Sonnenschein and Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co. 1899. Pp. viii, 345.)

THIS ostentatious title masks a fraud. The anonymous author of the *Historia de la America del Sur, desde su descubrimiento hasta nuestros dias*, etc., etc., *por un Americano* (Barcelona, 1878), which a confiding translator has now given to the English public, solved the perplexities of research and original composition by lifting bodily the work of Alfred Deberle, *Histoire de l'Amérique du Sud, depuis la Conquête jusqu'à nos Jours*, 2^{ème} éd., Paris, 1876). Occasionally a paragraph is added, here

and there a page; of more considerable additions there are two: the earlier pages of Chapter IV. on colonization are excerpted from Robertson's *America* without any indication of the fact, and pp. 312-330 are not in Deberle. The opening and closing sentences of some of the chapters will show the nature of the plagiarism as well as anything short of a comparison of both volumes in detail.

History of South America.

P. 139, "Columbia is called to fill at no distant date one of the first positions among the nations of South America."

P. 140, "The republic of Nueva Granada showed that it had acted with the greatest prudence by refraining from employing force to retain Venezuela in the union."

P. 154, "battles not very sanguinary, in truth, and which, it must be admitted, do not at all resemble those terrible encounters which stain with blood the streets of European capitals."

P. 293, "Of all the republics which were formed in America on the emancipation of the Spanish colonies, Chili has had the least chequered existence."

Histoire de l'Amérique du Sud.

P. 142, "la Colombie peut occuper un jour le premier rang parmi les peuples du Sud-Amérique."

P. 143, "La Nouvelle-Granade avait agi sagement en n'essayant pas de retenir Vénézuëla par la force, dans une union."

P. 161, "batailles peu sanglantes, il est vrai, et qui ne ressemblent guère, a-t-on besoin de le dire, à ces chocs terribles dont retentissent encore après tant d'années les boulevards et les rues de nos capitales."

P. 338, "De toutes les républiques sorties de l'émancipation des colonies espagnoles, la République du Chili est celle qui a reçu en partage l'existence la moins accidentée."

These brief citations are merely examples taken at random for illustration. It is clear from them that Mr. Jones has given us a faithful rendering of his Spanish text. One cannot but lament, however, that his labor should have been thus expended, when the same effort would have enabled him to make accessible to English readers the new edition of Deberle which has been revised and brought down to date by Alfred Milhaud (Paris, 1897). That Deberle's work sorely needed revision in the chapter on the discoveries will be instantly perceived by every student who examines the present volume, and it is not less obvious that a *History of South America* "to the present time" ought not to end in 1876. Mr. Jones is evidently a novice in history and geography or else he would have been staggered by such assertions as the following which appear in his text: "The Scandi-

navians settled successively in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia as well as in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, keeping up communications with these countries until the middle of the fourteenth century," p. 1; or this "Three days after setting sail Columbus arrived at the Canaries," etc. Deberle is responsible for the first of these extraordinary statements, but not for the second, which is one of only two cases, so far as I have noticed, in which the process of double translation has betrayed the original. My eye has not fallen on any glaring errors in Deberle's chapters on the history of the South American states and this part of his work will be found to contain a clear and concise account of their political life during the first two generations of their independence.

In view of the facts in the case, Mr. Jones and his publishers can hardly do less, in justice to Deberle and to the public, than to change the title-page so that the book will seem to be what it is, a translation of Deberle with slight additions. Would it, however, be too much to ask of Mr. Jones that he revise and extend his text so as to conform to Milhaud's improved edition? He would then give the public something for which it can be more sincerely grateful than for this version of a Spanish translation of an antiquated original.

EDWARD G. BOURNE.

The Homeric Palace, by Norman Morrison Isham, A.M., Architect (Providence, The Preston and Rounds Company, 1898, pp. viii, 72). This little book is a brief discussion, with illustrative sketches, of the architectural questions which have been raised by the Mycenaean excavations. The problem that the author sets himself, pp. 4, 5, 6, is to combine the testimony of the Homeric poems in regard to the dwellings of the chieftains with that of the excavations at Troy, Mycenae, Tiryns and Gha, and then by process of comparison to evolve a typical Homeric palace. To solve such a problem as this with any completeness in the space of seventy-two small pages is obviously impossible, and the evidence derived from the poems is not discussed at all. The result is that we have a study of the *Mycenaean* palace with a little Homer thrown in, and a constant tendency to lose sight of the distinction at first recognized between what is Mycenaean and what is Homeric. We are told, for example, p. 18, that the "great shields which the Homeric heroes carried" were "a sort of leather semi-cylinder held in front, reaching from head to heel, and from side to side," a view which from the evidence of the poems it would be hard to maintain without important modification. In spite of Reichel's brilliant treatise, statements about the Homeric as distinguished from the Mycenaean shield may well be couched in terms at least as cautious as those of Tsountas and Manatt, *Mycenaean Age*, p. 210, and even the over-conservative views of Ridgeway, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XVI. 115, are not to be lightly set aside. In spite, however, of Mr. Isham's too great inclination to regard the question of the relation of the Homeric to the Mycenaean civilization as *res adjudicata*, his book ought to be interesting and useful to teachers who have

not the opportunity of studying the more extensive architectural discussions of Adler, Dörpfeld and Chipiez. His indication, too, for it is hardly more than this, of the resemblance between the feudal castle of Northern Europe and the palace of the Mycenaean chieftain will be suggestive to many. It seems, indeed, a pity that this side of the subject has not been more fully worked out. A few good plans on a larger scale of typical English and French castles, and some discussion of their general features with reference to similar Mycenaean structures, would be interesting and instructive.

The general appearance of Mr. Isham's book would be improved by the omission of many unnecessary and some really barbarous transliterations. The spelling, too, of classic names could be reduced to some system with advantage; alongside of Mycenae and Mycenaean are Abai and Lykian, and we have Propylaea and Achaian, Telemachus and Eu-maios, etc. On p. 46 Chipiez's name should surely be mentioned in touching on the architectural theories of Perrot and Chipiez's *Histoire*. Mr. Isham's illustrations are good, but one wishes they might have been larger.

J. R. WHEELER.

The second Abtheilung of the eighth volume of Dahn's *Koenige der Germanen* (Leipzig, Breitkopf and Härtel, pp. xvi, 265) begins the institutional history of the Carolingian period. The Abtheilung is a short one, as compared with those of the volume on Merovingian institutions, and is concerned, except for a few pages at the end, with two topics only—first the fundamental questions of land and people, and second the distinctions of rank and class. The first discusses the political divisions of the state and the tribal divisions of the people, especially the relation of the Franks to the remaining population of the state. Nearly 200 pages are occupied with the second topic, dealing with the nobles, the common freemen, and the dependent classes. This last includes the author's treatment of the feudal institutions of the period. On this subject Dahn is in general agreement with the current opinion, but has his own views on many points of detail which, following his usual custom, he states in a very bald and dogmatic manner.

The Royal Historical Society has sent out Vol. XII. of its *Transactions* (Longmans, pp. 289). Sir Mountstuart E. Grant Duff, in his presidential address, pursues the plan upon which he entered in 1893, of discussing the extent to which the modern statesman can be directly helped by the study of some of the great writers of antiquity. Cicero is his theme this year, and is discussed in a most entertaining manner. The longest piece in the volume is an elaborate dissertation on the battle of Marston Moor, by Mr. C. H. Firth, who devotes himself especially, and with that fullness of knowledge of Civil War matters for which he is noted, to four questions: that of the numbers and composition of the two armies; that of the order in which the forces on each side were

drawn up ; that of the tactics of Cromwell and the cavalry ; and that of the nature and value of the authorities for the history of the battle. Next follow two interesting papers on naval history, one by Professor Laughton, on the lessons of national importance which may be drawn from the naval history of England, the other, by Mr. Hubert Hall of the Public Record Office, on its sources. Mr. A. E. Stamp contributes a note, founded chiefly on the despatches of John Robinson, on the visit which Marlborough paid to Charles XII. at Alt-Ranstadt in April, 1707. The paper on the Sheriff's Farm, by G. J. Turner, exhibits an enormous amount of work and contains some interesting details, but it is not easy to grasp his general conclusions. His main object is to explain the difference between payments made by tale, *i. e.*, in silver pennies, and payments in blanché silver, *i. e.*, tested silver of a certain fineness. This difference is of some importance for an understanding of the sheriffs' farms and accounts which have come down to us in the Pipe Rolls. Another elaborate study in the volume is that of Miss E. Dixon on the Florentine Wool Trades in the Middle Ages, in which she accounts for the development of those industries in a place so unfavorably situated, and traces the development of the manufacture and export which for so long a time made Florence supreme throughout Europe in the woollen industry. Finally, Miss Margaret Morison presents a narrative, curious and interesting but much in need of annotation, of a visit which the Swedish princess Cecilia, second daughter of Gustavus Vasa, paid to the Court of Queen Elizabeth in 1565-1566. The narrative is derived from a contemporary English manuscript drawn up at the instance of the princess, and is supplemented by her letters, by letters of the Spanish ambassador to his master and by others.

In the REVIEW for October, 1898, mention was made of the appearance of the privately printed group of papers by Mr. J. H. Round severely criticizing Mr. Hubert Hall's edition in the Roll Series of the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, and somewhat bitterly attacking Mr. Hall himself. Mr. Hall after long silence retaliated in kind in two papers which, it is but fair to say, have been distributed privately, not sent for review. These have in turn been answered by Mr. Round in a second pamphlet. Of the personalities we have nothing to say except to regret that personal controversy, so common in some fields of scientific work, should make an entrance into the world of historical study, which so far has been almost free from such waste of good energy.

As to the really important question at issue, the excellence or the defectiveness of the official edition of the *Red Book of the Exchequer*, Mr. Hall shows that some of the charges of mistake are themselves mistaken, others are differences of scholarly opinion, others again are somewhat unfair inferences, and still others are simply typographical errors in the preface. In his second paper he defends himself, we think successfully, against the charge of carelessness or ignorance in two important points which have been criticized by Mr. Round, and by Mr. Poole in the

English Historical Review. Mr. Hall acknowledges, however, as he must do, a residuum of deficiencies which he regrets but partially excuses by the peculiar difficulties of the conditions under which he worked. To sum up the results of the controversy, which it is to be hoped is now closed: It has been shown that the book referred to has defects which are unfortunate, which diminish its value quite perceptibly, but which are not either so numerous or so important as may have been at first supposed, or as the statements of Mr. Hall's principal critic suggest. But few critical editions have ever been subjected to so close and searching a revision by a second scholar of such abilities and training; and it is to be feared that but few would emerge from the test with unshaken credit. It is only to be regretted that this minute re-examination might not have been put at the disposal of the scholarly world by embodiment in the official edition; or in lieu of that, in the form of a review article which should include a list of the defects and of their corrections.

The Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1897 (Washington, Government Printing Office) is a portly volume of 1272 pages. Some three hundred of these are occupied with the second annual report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, which has been separately reviewed upon an earlier page. A hundred pages are devoted to a detailed bibliographical list of maps illustrating the topography of the region disputed by Venezuela and British Guiana, which has been prepared by Mr. P. Lee Phillips, superintendent of maps and charts in the Library of Congress. The last five hundred pages of the volume are devoted to a bibliography of Alabama, by Mr. Thomas M. Owen, secretary of the Alabama Historical Society. This bibliography includes, in great detail, books and pamphlets relating to the history of the territory now called Alabama and to the biography of its public men, Alabama imprints if deemed important by the compiler, and the writings of natives and inhabitants of the state. The compiler's own library has furnished a large part of the items, and other collections, public and private, have been ransacked with evident care. The scope of the bibliography seems not to have been defined at all points with perfect precision, but this is always difficult, and the collection as it stands must always be of incalculable benefit to all students of Alabama history.

The earlier pages of the volume are filled with the papers read at the Cleveland meeting, or with papers then offered and "read by title." Those of the former class have been already summarized in this review (III. 405-417). Of the latter class the most interesting seems to us to be: Dr. J. C. Ballagh's account of the land-system in the Southern colonies, affirmed, very properly, to be a topic fundamental to any serious study of the economic history of the South; Dr. J. M. Callahan's paper on Cuba and Anglo-American relations in the period from 1819 to 1829; Dr. J. H. Latane's more elaborate treatment of the diplomacy of the United States with regard to Cuba; and Dr. Bernard C. Steiner's interesting discussion of the Protestant revolution of 1689 in Maryland.

Hon. W. A. Courtenay, of South Carolina, reprints, with an introduction, "An Inquiry into the Propriety of Establishing a National Observatory," printed in 1827 by Professor James C. Courtenay, of Charleston, the first public appeal from a private citizen for the erection of an astronomical observatory in the Union.

The chapters of Mr. Lecky's *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* which treat of the American Revolution, though forming one of the most instructive and judicious histories of the Revolution that has been written, have not hitherto been accessible except in the complete work. Now, under the editorship of Professor James Albert Woodburn, of Indiana University, these chapters and passages have been gathered together and published as a separate volume under the (half) title of *The American Revolution, 1763-1783* (New York, Appleton, pp. xxvi, 518). Though intended primarily for use as a text-book, the volume can not fail to find its way into the hands of many who are not university students, and into libraries to which the complete work would never come, thereby doing much, as Professor Woodburn trusts, to remove or avoid any false and exaggerated conceptions of British despotism and tyranny that may yet remain, while at the same time carrying conviction that the resistance of the Americans contributed, as Fox said, "to preserve the liberties of mankind." The editor has prefixed a brief bibliography (pp. xi.-xviii.) of some of the important primary and secondary English and American authorities on the period. He has added also some fifteen pages of notes upon the text. The notes consist chiefly in occasional references to American authorities, or in quotations from them, and especially at points where in the view of the author Mr. Lecky has been "unduly severe or hostile in his criticism of the American cause or actors in the Revolution." Taken as a whole the notes form a very useful addition to the book, though they seem to be distributed somewhat arbitrarily or accidentally. Excepting occasional suggestions to students the editor gives little comment of his own. Where pages and passages not bearing on American history have been omitted (this has been mentioned in the notes, but it would seem that some mark of omission should also be found in the text.

E. C. B.

History of State Banking in Maryland, by Alfred Cookman Bryan, Ph.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science; Series XVII., Nos. 1, 2, 3] (pp. 144.) We are indebted to Mr. Bryan for the addition of another and important chapter to the history of banking in this country previous to the adoption of the national banking system. It is the familiar story of experimental legislation, lax supervision by the state and consequent loose and sometimes fraudulent practices by bank managers, marked, however, by gradual improvement, resulting during the later years of the period in the establishment of a fairly satisfactory system.

Maryland made no contribution to the development of either sound

legislation or practice comparable in importance to what was accomplished in Massachusetts, New York or Louisiana, but its experience, as presented by Mr. Bryan, is none the less instructive. Specially worthy of note is his account of the part imposed on the banks by the state in carrying out its schemes for internal improvements, of the taxation of banks for the support of the school fund, and of the close relation between the development of banking and the general industrial movement which he clearly brings out. Mr. Bryan's treatment is systematic, and he has apparently done his work in an adequate manner on the whole, though his material does not seem to be always well digested, and his statements are sometimes lacking in clearness. It is difficult, *e. g.*, to get, from apparently contradictory statements on pages 50 and 53, a clear idea of the facts in regard to the depreciation of the notes of the Maryland banks in 1815.

H. B. G.

One may question the appropriateness of including Mr. Amos K. Fiske's *The West Indies* (G. P. Putnam's Sons, pp. xii, 414) in the well-known series of the "Story of the Nations," for the obvious reason that those islands do not form a nation, never have, and probably never will. The book itself is a facile compilation of the essentials of West Indian geography and history to "meet the needs of that numerous but undefinable person 'the general reader.'" It betrays no intimate knowledge of the subject and is drawn exclusively from sources in the English language. Two of the best of these, it may be noted in passing, Madden's *Island of Cuba* (London, 1849) and Levy's *Cabrera's Cuba and the Cubans*, have escaped the author's attention. The historical portion of his work is slight in texture and unsatisfactory in quality. The sketch of Cuban history, for example, closely follows Ramsey's imperfect outline in Rowan and Ramsey's *Island of Cuba*, even to the mistake of assigning the Black Warrior episode to the year 1850. Mr. Fiske seems entirely unaware that Cuba was represented in the Cortes from 1812 to 1834. The relaxation of the restrictions on Cuban commerce he apparently attributes exclusively to the conscious policy of the French domination in Spain in 1808. It is true that the colonial monopoly broke down at that time, but the policy of open trade was begun by royal decree in 1794. It was not, however, permanently adopted until 1818.

Consultation of so accessible a book as John Fiske's *Discovery of America* would have saved the author from contributing his mite to perpetuate the error of explaining Hispaniola as "Little Spain." Columbus expressly says in his Journal (Dec. 9) "puso nombre à la dicha isla la isla Española," showing beyond doubt that "Española" is the adjective, "Spanish," and not the diminutive. The so-called Moro portrait of Columbus is reproduced and described as "Painted in 1542 at the court of Philip II. of Spain." Moro went to Madrid in 1552, Philip came to the throne in 1555, and the portrait is generally assigned to the year 1570 or thereabout.

E. G. B.

NOTES AND NEWS

The report of the "Committee of Seven" on the teaching of history in schools has just been published (Macmillan Co.) as a small volume.

In view of the approaching fortieth anniversary of the beginning of the professorial activity of Professor Pasquale Villari, an international committee has been organized at Florence, under the direction of Professor Alberto del Vecchio, to receive contributions toward a "Villari Fund" for the support of historical researches. American contributions may be sent to Professor E. R. A. Seligman, Columbia University, New York.

Professor Charles L. Wells, of the University of Minnesota, has resigned to become dean of the Protestant Episcopal Cathedral at New Orleans. Dr. Albert B. White, instructor in Yale University, has been chosen in his place.

The North Central History Teachers' Association was founded at Chicago on April 1, 1899, at a meeting of about a hundred teachers of history in schools and colleges in the region indicated. Semi-annual meetings, in October and at Easter, are proposed. Professor Charles H. Haskins of the University of Wisconsin was chosen president, and Mr. Harry S. Vaile of the Hyde Park High School, Chicago, secretary.

The American Catholic organization known as the Knights of Columbus have agreed to establish at the Catholic University of America at Washington a chair of American history. The Ancient Order of Hibernians has already founded there a chair of Celtic language, literature, history and antiquities.

In the *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte*, VI. 4-5, the editor, Dr. Georg Steinhausen, begins a bibliography of the publications of 1898 (books, pamphlets and articles in journals), in the history of civilization.

Part XXI. of Dr. Poole's *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe* contains maps of the Netherlands, by Dr. J. Fredericks; of Southeastern Europe and Asia Minor, circa 1200, by Professor J. B. Bury; and of the European Colonies and Dependencies after the Peace of Utrecht, by Mr. H. E. Egerton.

The pages of "Contemporary History" (1848-1898) which Professor Edwin A. Grosvenor of Amherst College added to his translation of Duruy's *History of the World* recently published, have been issued separately by the publishers of that volume, Messrs. T. Y. Crowell and Co., under the title, *Contemporary History of the World* (pp. ix, 183).

ANCIENT HISTORY.

The publisher A. Hettler, of Leipzig, has founded and will conduct a journal devoted entirely to ancient history, *Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte*, of which six or eight *Hefte* will be published annually, at the price of twenty marks. The first number contains a general introductory article by R. von Scala; a general review of the treatment of ancient history during the present century, by J. Jung; an account of the latest investigations in Egyptian history, by A. Wiedemann; and a brief article in source-criticism, chiefly relating to Livy, by W. Soltau.

The Temple of Mut in Asher (Scribner, pp. 391), by Margaret Benson and Jane Gray, gives an account of the temple and its contents, with the purpose of illustrating Egyptian history and the religious ideas of the Egyptians. The inscriptions and translations are by Percy E. Newberry.

Dr. Frederic J. Bliss's *Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894-'97*, published at London by the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund, is a record of the valuable work which this young American archaeologist has done in tracing the old walls and boundaries of Jerusalem, on its south side, at various ages.

Professor Charles Foster Kent's *History of the Jewish People during the Babylonian, Persian and Greek Periods* (Scribner, pp. 380), previously announced in these pages, has now appeared.

German and Austrian publications relating to Greek history, and brought out between 1886 and 1898, are reviewed by Professor Adolf Bauer of Gratz in the May number of the *Revue Historique*. The article is to be continued in a later number. Dr. Bauer also publishes through C. H. Beck of Munich a general review of a decade's work in Greek history, *Die Forschungen zur griechischen Geschichte, 1888-1898* (pp. 573).

In the *Annual* of the British School at Athens, No. 3, Mr. C. Smith gives a general account of the excavations conducted by the school on the island of Melos, while a considerable number of the details of the results are considered in more special contributions. In the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XVIII. 2, Mr. G. C. Richards presents a general review of archaeological investigations in Greece in 1897-1898.

The Clarendon Press produces a treatise on *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri*, by Mr. Frederic G. Kenyon, assistant keeper of manuscripts in the British Museum, who has made himself so distinguished a reputation in this field.

The second volume in Messrs. Methuen's series of Byzantine Texts will be the History of Psellus, edited by C. Sathas.

The thirteenth volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* is begun, with a fasciculus devoted to the inscriptions of Aquitania and Lugdunensis, edited by Otto Hirschfeld (Berlin, G. Reimer, pp. xxxviii, 519).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Meyer, *Die Sklaverei im Alterthum* (Jahrbuch der Gehe-Stiftung, 1899); E. Kornemann, *Der Einfluss Ägyptens über das römische Reich* (Neue Jahrbücher, II. 1); J. P. Waltzing, *Les Collèges Funéraires chez les Romains* (Le Musée Belge, 1898, 4); M. S. Muller, *De Civitates van Gallië* (Verhandelingen der k. Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, II. 1-2); F. V. Dickins, *The Origins of the Japanese State* (English Historical Review, April).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY.

The Vienna Academy's *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* now includes a first volume (the first thirteen books) of Augustine *De Civitate Dei*, edited by Emanuel Hoffmann (Vienna, F. Tempsky, pp. 660).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Father Pargoire, *Les Débuts du Monachisme à Constantinople* (Revue des Question Historiques, January); P. Allard, *L'Épiscopat de Saint Basile* (Revue des Question Historiques, January).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY.

Dr. Hans Schnorr von Carolsfeld, librarian of the University of Munich, and Professor Anton Chroust of Würzburg announce the publication of a series of fac-similes of medieval manuscripts, with accompanying transcripts and other letter-press, to be entitled *Monumenta Palaeographica*. Subscriptions (at ten marks per *Heft* of twenty plates) may be sent to Messrs. F. Bruckmann of Munich. The parts will be published at intervals of two months.

The firm of Wagner at Innsbruck has begun the publication of Dr. Engelbrecht Mühlbacher's new edition of Böhmer's "Regesta," *Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter den Karolingern*, Bd. I., Abth. 1 (pp. 480).

The Hakluyt Society announces for next year *The Journeys to Tartary of John of Plano Carpini and William of Rubruk*, translated and edited by Mr. W. W. Rockhill, at present United States minister in Athens.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. Dippe, *Der Prolog der Lex Salica, die Entstehung der Lex und die salischen Franken* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, II. 2); H. Brunner, *Nobiles und Gemeinfreie der karolingischen Volksrechte* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germ. Abth., 19); J. von Pflugk-Harttung, *Die Anfänge des Johanniter Herrenmeisterthums* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, II. 2); R. Behrend, *Das Ungejährewerk in der Geschichte des Seerechts* (Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germ. Abth., 19).

GREAT BRITAIN.

The government has issued the *Calendar of the Close Rolls* for 1333-1337; and a volume of the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, for 1672.

With the aid of an influential advisory committee, and under the editorial direction of Mr. H. Arthur Doubleday and Mr. G. Laurence Gomme, Messrs. Archibald Constable and Co., of 2 Whitehall Gardens, Westminster, propose the issue of a most elaborate series of county histories, to be called *The Victoria History of the Counties of England*. The history of each county will, upon the average, occupy four volumes at a cost of six guineas for each county, or perhaps £250 for the whole set. The plan contemplates the treatment, for each county, of its geology, natural history, pre-historic, Roman and Anglo-Saxon remains, ethnography, architecture, Domesday, topographical details for each parish and manor, the history of its leading families, and its ecclesiastical, political, maritime, literary and economic history. There will be elaborate illustration by maps, coats of arms, portraits, characteristic views, etc. The portions relating to Domesday and the feudal families are to be entrusted to Mr. J. Horace Round, and in general, great efforts will be made to secure that each section is treated by a competent specialist.

Westminster Abbey, an historic description by Mr. H. J. Feasey, with an account of the Abbey buildings, by J. T. Micklethwaite, is among the announcements of the Macmillan Co.

Side by side with the useful series of volumes of *English History from Contemporary Writers*, Mr. David Nutt has begun the issue of a series of *Scottish History from Contemporary Writers*, the two volumes already brought out being one on the times of James IV., edited by Mr. G. Gregory Smith, and one on Mary Queen of Scots, by Mr. R. S. Rait.

During the present summer Mr. J. Horace Round will publish a book on the origin of the London Corporation.

The Pipe Roll Society's Vol. XXIV. contains the *Feet of Fines in the Public Record Office for the Ninth Year of King Richard I.*

In the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, LIX. 5, MM. Mirot and Deprez present an instructive history of the English embassies to the Continent (France, the Holy See, Germany and Spain) from 1327 to 1360, from materials derived from the exchequer-accounts in the Public Record Office.

The Oxford Historical Society has brought out at the Clarendon Press two volumes of *Epistolae Academicæ Oxonienses (Registrum F.)*, a collection of letters and other miscellaneous documents illustrative of academical life and studies at Oxford in the fifteenth century, edited by the Rev. Henry Anstey, of Queen's College.

The Selden Society has published as its twelfth issue a volume of *Select Cases in the Court of Requests, 1497-1569*, edited by Mr. I. S. Leadam (London, Quaritch, pp. cxxiv, 241). Vol. XIII., for 1899, will be a volume of *Select Pleas of the Forest*, edited by Mr. G. J. Turner. Vol. XIV., for 1900, will be a volume on the municipal records of Lincoln

and Beverley, by Mr. A. F. Leach. Later the year books of Edward II. will be attacked.

Under the general editorship of Mr. Spenser Wilkinson, Messrs. Lawrence and Bullen are about to publish a volume of military sketches entitled *From Cromwell to Wellington—Twelve Soldiers* with an introduction by Lord Roberts. The twelve soldiers are: Cromwell, Marlborough, Peterborough, Wolfe, Clive, Coote, Heathfield, Abercromby, Lake, Baird, Moore and Wellington; and the writers are British military officers of high competence. A similar naval volume is in preparation.

The second volume of Mr. Osmund Airy's edition of Burnet's *History of My Own Time* (Clarendon Press) may be expected shortly.

Mr. John Murray announces a biographical sketch of Dean Milman, by his son, Mr. Arthur Milman, with selections from the dean's correspondence.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Dom L. Lévêque, *Saint Augustin de Cantorbéry; Première Mission Bénédictine* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); R. S. Rait, *Andrew Melville and the Revolt against Aristotle in Scotland* (English Historical Review, April); J. R. Tanner, *The Administration of the Navy from the Restoration to the Revolution*, III. (English Historical Review, April); *Slavery in Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh Review, January).

FRANCE.

M. Pierre de Tourtoulon, in his *Œuvres de Jacques de Révigny* (Paris, Marescq), has essayed, after careful study of the manuscript lectures on the Digest, written by Jacques, and still preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, to restore to his true place of importance the most celebrated professor of law at the school of Orleans in the thirteenth century.

Under the auspices of the Swiss federal government, M. Édouard Rott will publish (Bern, Collin), an important work in nine volumes entitled: *Histoire de la Représentation Diplomatique de la France auprès des Cantons Suisses, de leurs Alliés et Confédérés*. It will contain lists of all the French agents, major and minor, with biographical notes, etc., and a history of all their negotiations in Switzerland.

The life of Calvin by M. Doumergue, professor of church history in the Faculty of Protestant Theology at Montauban (*Jean Calvin, les Hommes et les Choses de son Temps*), is to be a monument of the first importance to the memory of the reformer. The first volume, *La Jeunesse de Calvin* (Lausanne, Bridel), has appeared. It contains 157 reproductions of old engravings, autographs, etc., and 113 plates from original drawings by M. Armand Delille.

A year ago the Protestant churches of France celebrated the three-hundredth anniversary of the Edict of Nantes. The papers read on that occasion have been gathered into a volume by the publishing house of Berger-Levrault. It is handsomely and interestingly illustrated, and con-

tains essays of high value; for instance, on the methods by which the Edict was violated almost as soon as it was issued, on Protestant teaching under the Edict, on Saumur as the intellectual capital of the Huguenots, etc.

M. Lacour-Gayet's *L'Éducation Politique de Louis XIV.* (Paris, Hachette), deals first with the details of the instruction directly bestowed on the young king, a matter which is treated with thorough and original research, and secondly analyzes the political theories of the time, especially those relating to the monarchy, in the effort to show what principles of government must have been imbibed by a prince placed in the environment in which Louis found himself. The book is intended to pave the way toward one on the political ideas of the king.

In the *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History* (University of Pennsylvania) the latest document printed is the *Protest of the Cour des Aides of Paris*, April 10, 1775, reprinted from the Cornell University copy of the pamphlet *Remontrances*, edited by Professor J. H. Robinson, and provided with a translation.

Of publications in the official series devoted to the French Revolution, we have to note two in that issued by the Ministry of Public Instruction: Vol. II. of M. Brette's *Recueil de Documents relatifs à la Convocation des États Généraux de 1789*, and Vol. II. of M. E. Charavay's *Correspondance de Carnot*. The latter, extending from August to October, 1793, contains for that period practically the whole military correspondence of the Committee of Public Safety. In the series published under the auspices of the municipal council of Paris we have Vol. II. of Dr. Robinet's *Mouvement Religieux à Paris pendant la Révolution*, and the first volume of a documentary series on *Les Volontaires Nationaux pendant la Révolution*, edited by MM. C. L. Chassin and L. Hennet. This gives the military history and the muster-rolls of the first eight Parisian battalions of 1791 and 1792.

M. Sagnac, *La Législation Civile de la Révolution* (Paris, Hachette) discusses with great thoroughness the work of legal reform undertaken by the lawyers and statesmen of the Revolution, and the extent to which the civil portions of the Code Napoleon should be attributed to them. The legislation of the leaders of the Revolution with respect to charity, and the results of their activity in this field, especially of the changes which they effected in the ancient charitable institutions of France, are set forth with great ability by M. L. Lallemand in his *La Révolution et les Pauvres* (Paris, Picard, pp. 398).

Toulon et les Anglais en 1793, by M. Paul Cottin (Paris, Ollendorff, pp. 455), is a monograph of great merit, worked out from very complete studies not only in the printed and manuscript materials of France, but in the manuscripts of the Public Record Office in London.

In commemoration of the battle of Marengo, the historical society of the province of Alessandria is organizing an international Congress of

Napoleonic History to be held at Alessandria in June, 1900. Baron Alberto Lumbroso will be the actual president of the congress. It is expected that the scientific papers read will be printed in commemoration; it is possible that an exhibition of Napoleonic autographs, coins, relics, etc., will be organized.

The most notable Napoleonic memoir of the year 1899, thus far, is the *Journal Inédit du Général Baron Gourgaud, Sainte-Hélène, de 1815 à 1818*, published, with prefaces and notes, by the Vicomte de Grouchy and M. Antoine Guillois (Paris, Flammarion, Vol. I., pp. 590). This first volume extends to May, 1817. Apparently the most notable recent book of military history of Napoleon is Yorck von Wartenburg's *Napoléon Chef d'Armée* (Paris, L. Baudoin, two volumes) published in 1898, but seemingly written in 1884.

M. Albert Babeau, who in 1884 published an interesting book on English travelers in France from the Renaissance to the Revolution, has lately brought out a translation of the remarkable account of his travels in France in 1802 written by Sir John Carr, and has prefixed to it an interesting introduction on the English travelers who flocked to France in such great numbers after the conclusion of the peace of Amiens.

Two acute, amusing and instructive volumes on the Empress Josephine, *Joséphine de Beauharnais* and *Joséphine Impératrice et Reine* (Paris, Ollendorff), continue M. Frédéric Masson's series of graphic portrayals of the women of the family of Bonaparte.

Mr. Hereford B. George, author of *Battles of English History*, will shortly publish (Fisher Unwin) an important work on Napoleon's Russian campaign.

M. Houssaye has brought out the second volume of his masterly narrative entitled *1815* (Paris, Perrin) containing his account of the Waterloo campaign.

For some months past M. Ernest Daudet has been publishing in the various French reviews a number of articles relating to the life and especially the political career of the Duc Decazes. They have been based on the papers of Decazes, which embrace an exceptionally full and intimate correspondence with Louis XVIII. M. Daudet has now published an interesting volume called *Louis XVIII. et le Duc Decazes, 1815-1820*.

F. A. Perthes of Gotha has ready an index of 68 pages to Karl Hillebrand's *Geschichte Frankreichs während des Julikönigthums*, in the Heeren and Ukert series.

The third volume of M. Émile Ollivier's *L'Empire Libéral* (Paris, Garnier) is devoted to the internal and external history of the Second Empire from 1852 to 1859, and to an interesting critique of Napoleon's policy by the ex-premier, in which he ascribes most of the later misfortunes to the original error of setting up the Empire instead of maintaining the Republic.

M. Pierre Lehautcourt has published the third volume of his admirable *Siège de Paris* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, pp. 468), covering the history of the final efforts of the defenders, and that of the capitulation.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Abbé Vacandard, *L'Idolatrie en Gaule au VI^e et au VII^e Siècle* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); Abbé P. Feret, *L'Université de Paris et les Jésuites dans la seconde Moitié du XVI^e Siècle* (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); B. B. Warfield, *The Literary History of Calvin's Institutes* (Presbyterian and Reformed Review, April); E. Garnault, *Les Bourgeois Rochelais des Temps Passés et les Causes de la Décadence du Commerce de la Rochelle au XVIII^e Siècle* (Revue Historique, May); Comte d'Haussonville, *La Duchesse de Bourgogne à la Cour*, I., II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 1, April 1); Vicomte de Boislecote, *Le Maréchal de Belleisle pendant la Guerre de la Succession d'Autriche* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); H. Glagau, *General Lafayette und der Sturz der Monarchie in Frankreich*, II. (Historische Zeitschrift, LXXXII. 3); A. Pingaud, *Le Congrès de Vienne et la Politique de Talleyrand* (Revue Historique, May); G. Rothan, *Napoléon III. et l'Italie*, II., III. (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15, March 15).

ITALY, SPAIN, PORTUGAL.

In Heyck's series of *Monographien zur Weltgeschichte* Professor Hans von Zwiédineck-Südenhorst brings out a well-illustrated essay of 208 pages on *Venedig als Weltmacht und Weltstaat* (Bielefeld, Velhagen and Klasing).

In Vol. II., No. 2, of the Prussian Institute's *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*, the chief matter is a correspondence between Gasparo Contarini and Ercole Gonzaga; Dr. Schellhass continues his documents on Ninguarda's nunciature in Bavaria and Austria, 1572-1577.

Professor Baldassare Labanca of the University of Rome has made an interesting and valuable contribution to the history of the philosophy of history in Italy, by a learned and acute work entitled *Giambattista Vico e i suoi Critici Cattolici, con Osservazioni Comparative sugli Studi Religiosi dei Secoli XVIII e XIX* (Naples, pp. 452). Catholic defenders of Vico are treated to some extent, as well as his opponents.

In the *Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria* (XXI. 3-4) the leading matter is a collection of studies on the pontificate of Clement XI., by F. Pometti.

In the *Archivio Storico Italiano* Professor G. Rondoni has published, with an interesting essay, extracts from the correspondence of G. P. Vieusseux, 1820 to 1860. Vieusseux was a friend of so many of the Italian scholars and patriots of that time that his correspondence casts important light on the period of the Risorgimento.

Signor Raffaello Giovagnoli, a profound student of the Italian events of 1848-1849, has published the first volume of a work called *Pellegrino*

Rossi e la Rivoluzione Romana con Documenti Nuovi (Rome, Forzani), in which, after elaborate studies, he treats of Rossi's life, his ministry under Pius IX., and his death. The second volume will be occupied with the investigation which followed, with the evidence which it presented as to the revolutionary movement, and with the documents.

In April, Brescia celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its ten days' resistance to the Austrians in 1849. For the occasion the *Sentinella Bresciana* issued a folio souvenir brochure containing much historical matter and reminiscence, and many illustrations.

Giacomo Dina e l'Opera Sua nelle Vicende del Risorgimento Italiano is a work which furnishes much secondary information on recent Italian history. Dina was a journalist of great ability; but what gives special importance to him and his writings is the fact that he was, during Cavour's ministry, the mouthpiece of Cavour, and after Cavour's death he represented in *L'Opinione* the principles of the Moderate Liberals. Senator Luigi Chiala, the veteran historical editor, has charge of the work, two volumes of which have been published (Turin: Roux, Frassati and Co.).

In the *Revista Critica de Historia y Literatura* for June-September, 1898, Señor Arturo Farinelli of Gratz and Innsbruck presents a body of supplementary notes to his former collection on foreign travellers in Spain and Portugal, with some interesting extracts from unpublished narratives and letters. In the same number Mr. Adolph Hillman treats of the historical relations between Spain and Sweden.

Señor J. Suárez Inclán has published a historical work in two volumes entitled *Guerra de Anexión en Portugal durante el Reinado de D. Felipe II.* (Madrid, pp. 435, 432).

Captain Cesaréo Fernandez Duro has brought out the fourth volume of his classic history of the Spanish navy, *Armada Española desde la Unión de Castilla y de Leon*, of which the first volume was noticed in this review (II. 344).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND.

The historic-economic section of the Fürstlich Jablonowski'sche Gesellschaft offers for 1902 a prize of a thousand marks for a monograph on the development, in Germany, of writing upon the history of civilization, from Herder to Freytag, Riehl and Burckhardt inclusive. The conditions for the contest are those which have been usual with the society.

Vol. XLIV. of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* extends from Wolfenbüttel to Zeis, and it must be presumed that another volume will alphabetically complete this great enterprise.

Three more source-books call for the attention of the teacher of history: *Ausgewählte Urkunden zur deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte*, edited by G. von Below and F. Keutgen (Weimar, E. Felber, Vol. I.);

Urkunden zur städtischen Verfassungsgeschichte, edited by F. Keutgen (Felber); and *Quellen zur Geschichte der Revolutionszeit*, edited by H. Huffer (Leipzig, B. G. Teubner).

The Berlin Historical Society has published the volume for 1897 (Jahrg. XX.), of its *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* (pp. 107, 461, 448, 346).

Professor K. T. von Inama-Sternegg of Vienna continues his important work by the issue of a first volume of his *Deutsche Wirthschaftsgeschichte in den letzten Jahrhunderten des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot).

Dr. Moritz Stern, in a thorough monograph, accompanied by many documentary texts, *König Ruprecht von der Pfalz in seinen Beziehungen zu den Juden* (Kiel), contests the usual view that the Jews enjoyed their best days in Germany under Rupert.

The Verein für Hansische Geschichte has issued the sixth volume (1477-1530) of the third section of the *Hanserecesse*, ed. Dietrich Schäfer; and the first volume (pp. 501) of a new series of its *Hansische Geschichtsquellen*, a volume by Dr. Franz Siewert on the history and documents of the Riga trade of Lübeck in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The *Geschichtsblätter des deutschen Hugenotten-Vereins*, VIII. 1-6, contain accounts of Huguenot, Walloon or Waldensian communities at Hanau, Lüneburg, Serres in Württemberg, Neu-Kelsterbach, and Schwabendorf.

M. Rod. Reuss has completed his important work on *L'Alsace au XVII^e Siècle* (Paris, Bouillon), formerly mentioned in these pages, by a second volume in which he deals, in a similarly admirable manner, with the history of Alsatian society, letters and religion.

Professor Munroe Smith has printed in an attractive little volume, *Bismarck and German Unity, a Historical Outline* (Macmillan, pp. 99), his admirable summary article, originally published in the New York *Evening Post*, immediately after Prince Bismarck's death. The author has made a few additions to the first sketch, and has prefixed to the volume an interesting mezzotint portrait. Among the recent German addresses on Bismarck those most worthy of mention appear to be those of Lenz (*Preussische Jahrbücher*, January); of Marcks (Leipzig address and paper on Bismarck and the Hohenzollerns in *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch*, Vol. II.); of Schmoller (*Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preussischen Geschichte*, XII. 1); of Bezold (*Bonner Zeitung*), and of Kauffmann (*Nord und Süd*, No. 262). The first three of these have been printed in a volume, *Zu Bismarck's Gedächtnis* (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot, pp. 174).

The Verein für Geschichte der Mark Brandenburg, aided by the estates of the province and by the Prussian archives, intends to publish the

earlier acts of the estates, inventories of the minor archives, an agrarian map and other works in the historical geography of the province.

The Historical Commission of the kingdom of Württemberg has begun the publication of the *Briefwechsel des Herzogs Christoph von Württemberg*, edited by Dr. Viktor Ernst (Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer). The first volume (pp. 900) covers the years 1550-1552.

The constitutional history of one of the smallest, but not one of the least interesting of the German states, during an important period, is the theme of Dr. F. Bruns's *Verfassungsgeschichte des Lübeckischen Freistaats 1848-1898* (Lübeck, Borchers, pp. 185).

In the series of *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Wien*, Professor Karl Uhrlirz, archivist of the municipality, presents a volume of *Verzeichniss der Originalurkunden des städtischen Archives, 1239-1411* (Vienna, Tempsky, pp. 626).

The latest number of the *Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève* (II. 2) is almost wholly given up to an address commemorative of the late Pierre Vaucher, and to a bibliography of his works and of the notices of him which have appeared since his death.

From 1521 to 1656, and nominally until 1798 the canton of Zürich maintained in its "Volksfragen" an institution analogous to the modern referendum. In the *Jahrbuch für Schweizerische Geschichte*, XXIII., Professor Karl Dändliker presents in detail the history of this institution. For illustration of the popular aspects of the Reformation movement the local replies are of considerable value and interest.

Professor Wilhelm Oechsli of Zürich has published an interesting "centennial" study of Switzerland in 1798 and 1799 under the title *Vor Hundert Jahren* (Zürich, Schulthess, pp. 188) with a map.

In an inaugural discourse delivered at Basel, and which should be of some interest to American readers, *Die Gründung des schweizerischen Bundesstaates im Jahre 1848* (Basel, Schwabe), Professor F. Fleiner studies the manner in which the constitution framed in that year grew out of the arrangements of 1815.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Brunner, *Der Totenthail der germanischen Rechte* (*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germ. Abth.*, 19); K. Hampe, *Kaiser Friedrich II.* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXXIII. 1); H. Oncken, *Sebastian Franck als Historiker* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXXII. 3); P. Zinck, *Studentisches Leben in Leipzig zur Zeit des Kurfürsten August, 1553-1586* (*Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte*, VI. 4-5); F. Stieve, *Wallenstein's Leben von 1609 bis 1623* (*Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in München, phil.-hist. Cl.*, 1898, II. 2); F. Stieve, *Wallenstein bis zur Übernahme des ersten Generalats* (*Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, II. 2); R. Koser, *Friedrich Wilhelm IV. am Vorabend der Märzrevolution* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, LXXXIII. 1); P. de la Gorce, *La Prusse avant Sadowa* (*Le Correspondant*, February 10).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM.

A new Belgian historical journal, entitled *Archives Belges*, began to appear at the beginning of the present year, under the editorial conduct of Professor Godefroid Kurth, of the University of Liège. It will contain no body-articles, the contents being limited to reviews of books, notices of periodicals, and news.

The Dutch government has published the reports of Mr. Busken Huet and Mr. van Vleen on their historical researches in the archives of Paris, those of the former relating to the times of William the Silent and Leicester, those of the latter to Duke Charles of Gelderland and the Egmond family.

Professor Henri Lonchay of Brussels has brought out a scholarly edition of the *Comentario de la Guerra de Frisia* of Colonel Francisco Verdugo, an important Spanish officer who commanded in the northern Netherlands from 1581 to 1594, and whose memoirs, long forgotten, rare, and absorbed by writers of a little later time, are of great importance for events and for their picture of the Spanish army. M. Lonchay has added to the book many letters of Verdugo, especially to his father-in-law Mansfeldt, governor-general *ad interim*.

The Historical Society of Utrecht has published the *Diarium Everardi Bronchorstii, sive Adversaria omnium quae gesta sunt in Academia Leydensi, 1591-1627*, edited by Mr. van Slee, a curious record of professorial life and academic doings.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE.

Mr. Norstedt, of Stockholm, has published the ninth volume of *Axel Oxenstiernas Skrifter och Brefvesling*.

Dr. O. S. Rydberg has published the eleventh volume (1846-1867) of *Sveriges og Norges Traktater med främmande Magder jemte andra dit hörande Handlingar* (pp. 775).

It may be convenient for students who do not read Russian to know that the main results of Miliukov's great work on the history of Russian civilization are summarized by Boris Minzès in an article entitled "Skizzen zur Geschichte des Wirthschaftsstaats und der Gesellschaft in Russland" in Wolf's *Zeitschrift für Sozialwissenschaft*, 1898, 10, 11. But it also appears that a German translation of Miliukov *in extenso*, by E. Davidson, *Skizzen russischer Kulturgeschichte*, is being brought out at Leipzig.

La Question d'Orient depuis ses Origines jusqu'à nos Jours, by E. Driault (Paris, Alcan, pp. 407), conceives of the Eastern Question broadly, narrates its history with learning and good judgment, is exceedingly well written, and is accompanied with excellent bibliographies.

Mr. Leo Wiener, instructor in the Slavic languages at Harvard University, has written *The History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (Scribner, pp. 402).

A most interesting aspect of the history of civilization in Rumania is treated by Mr. Pompiliu Eliade, a young Rumanian scholar, formerly a pupil of the École Normale Supérieure at Paris, in a valuable dissertation on *L'Influence Française sur l'Esprit Public en Roumanie à l'Époque des Règnes Phanariotes* (1711-1821).

AMERICA.

Mr. Jeremiah Curtin has gathered the fruits of extensive travel, inquiry and study in the realm of Indian folklore into his volume entitled *Creation Myths of primitive America in relation to the Religious History and Mental Development of Mankind* (Boston, Little, Brown and Co.).

We note the appearance of the second volume of Mr. E. J. Payne's *History of the New World called America*; and of the second volume of Mr. J. C. Ropes's *The Story of the Civil War*, dealing with the campaign of 1862.

The Government Printing Office has published a useful work entitled *Parliamentary Precedents of the House of Representatives of the United States* (pp. 1171). These precedents have been collected from the journals and records of debates, and arranged with suitable references to the Constitution and those statutes which relate to the organization and administration of the House. The work was compiled by Mr. Asher C. Hinds, clerk at the Speaker's table, and is published by authority of Congress.

The fourth volume of Mr. J. F. Rhodes's *History of the United States* and the fifth volume (1821-1837) of Professor McMaster's *History of the People of the United States* are expected to be published in the autumn.

Messrs. D. Appleton and Co. announce *A History of the American Nation*, by Professor A. C. McLaughlin, of the University of Michigan.

In the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for October 21, 1898, Dr. E. E. Hale gives an account of the late Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull's dictionary of the Massachusetts Indian language; Dr. G. Stanley Hall gives a curious study of initiations into adolescence, including the phenomena of conversion, while Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis discusses the plates for the Massachusetts currency of 1689-1750.

In an interesting and learned article reprinted from *Globus*, *Die Behandlung weiblicher Gefangener durch die Indianer von Nordamerika*, Lieutenant Friederici of the German army labors, and apparently with success, to show that the present horrible and, it appears, invariable custom is wholly of modern origin.

Mr. C. L. Traver, of 108 South Broad Street, Trenton, N. J., has printed, in a limited edition of 290 copies, the *Journal, or Historical Recollections of American Events during the Revolutionary War*, of Elias Boudinot, President of the Continental Congress.

The diary of Colonel Israel Angell, of the Continental Line, has lately been brought to light, and its six scattered parts reunited. It

covers the period from August 30, 1778, to April 3, 1781, and is of especial interest for the battle of Rhode Island and for events connected with West Point and with the treason of Benedict Arnold. The Preston and Rounds Co., of Providence, propose to issue this diary in a limited edition, with notes by Mr. Edward Field.

The later period of anti-slavery agitation, and the subsequent work for the freedmen, are illustrated by Rev. John W. Chadwick's edition of the letters of Sallie Holley, published by Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons, under the title *A Life for Liberty*.

It is expected that the series of the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* will be completed in about a year more.

The *Report and Accompanying Papers* of the Venezuela-Guiana Boundary Commission is reviewed at some length by M. L. Gallois in the *Revue Historique* for May, and by M. Henri Froidevaux in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* for April.

The Woolfall Company, N. Y., announce *The Life of Admiral George Dewey, U. S. N., from Montpelier to Manila*. The author is a member of the Dewey family, and has had the assistance of the Admiral's immediate family, at Montpelier. Much material has been obtained from the personal correspondence of Admiral Dewey.

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts has printed, and has issued to its members, a part of the fifth volume of its *Publications*, embracing the transactions of November and December, 1897. The principal paper, and one of much interest, is one by Mr. John Noble, clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, on "The Records and Files of the Superiour Court of Judicature, and of the Supreme Judicial Court, their History and Places of Deposit." The second volume (Vol. I. of the Society's *Collections*), is to contain the texts of all the commissions and instructions issued to governors of Massachusetts while it was a royal province; this volume is now nearly completed.

The Macmillan Company have in press *Old Cambridge*, by Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, the first volume of a series of *National Studies in American Letters*, designed to present the history and development of our literature during its first century with especial reference to historical movements, social conditions, and the local differences of origin, temperament and environment.

The New York Public Library has recently acquired a portion of those papers of President Monroe which were not bought in 1849 by the Federal Government, but remained in the possession of the descendants of Col. Monroe.

The Smith of Nibley papers are continued in the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for April and May; the April number concludes the calendar of Dr. Emmet's collection of manuscripts, etc., relating to the Signers of the Declaration of Independence; it is expected that the

July number will contain the text of several unpublished letters of John C. Calhoun to James Monroe.

Mr. Harold Scudder, of 32 Liberty Street, New York, offers for sale a very small edition of the *Records of the First Church in Huntington, Long Island, 1723-1779*. The record is one kept by Rev. Ebenezer Prime, pastor during the years mentioned, and includes lists of members, baptisms and marriages, accounts of trials of members, etc.

The April number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History* is one of much interest. Mr. John W. Jordan contributes an article describing Franklin's journeys and correspondence in quest of information respecting his relatives and descent in England; also, some hospital returns of the Revolutionary War, showing the employment of women as nurses. Mr. C. H. Lincoln has a careful and suggestive article on Representation in the Pennsylvania Assembly prior to the Revolution. The journal prints a first installment of an abstract of the general title of the Penn family to their estates in Pennsylvania, drawn up some thirty years ago by their counsel, the late Hon. John Cadwalader; and a description of the capture of Fort Washington, New York, derived from the diary of Captain Andreas Wiederhold of the Hessian Regiment "Knyphausen."

The American Baptist Publication Society has just issued *The First Baptist Church, Philadelphia: Its History and the Bi-centennial Celebration of Its Foundation*, an illustrated volume of 500 pages, with documentary appendices. The historical portion of the book is mostly written by Dr. W. W. Keen.

The April number of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* contains an unusually rich variety of original documents. Among those of most interest we note: the beginning of a series of reminiscences of Western Virginia, 1770-1830, by one John Redd, apparently elicited by Dr. Lyman C. Draper; the will of Mrs. Mary Willing Byrd, 1813, valuable especially for its indications as to the portraits then preserved at Westover; a collection of Mr. Sainsbury's abstracts, ranging from 1618 to 1624; and documents relating to Governor Spotswood's German settlers, a Virginian Jacobite of 1690, and the treatment in Virginia of the Acadian exiles of 1755.

In a well-illustrated little pamphlet entitled *The Making of the Union—Contribution of the College of William and Mary, in Virginia*, President Lyon G. Tyler presents the salient facts concerning the public services of that famous institution, together with tabular statements which, by lists of official names, show the eminent positions attained by its graduates in the Federal service and that of Virginia.

The *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, No. 2, Part 4, contains, beside the usual data interesting to genealogists, a collection of documents relating to the Church in Norfolk County, 1651-1653, and a continuation of Mrs. Maxwell's interesting reminiscences of Norfolk in the time of Lord Dunmore's raid and the battle of Great Bridge. An index to the second volume may now be had.

Mr. Charles L. Coon, of Charlotte, N. C., expects before the end of the present year to publish a *History of Mecklenburg County, North Carolina*, based on the original sources.

Col. John P. Thomas, state historian of South Carolina, charged with the collection and custody of its military records of the period of the Confederacy, has succeeded in collecting "all the Confederate rolls proper—infantry, cavalry and artillery, including the field and staff of regiments and battalions," and the "rolls of eighty companies of state troops" and other organizations—598 rolls in all, embracing 67,000 officers and men.

Mr. Charles H. Coe, who has long resided in Florida, has made a thorough study, from original sources, printed and manuscript, of the history of the Seminoles and of the war which the United States waged against them, and has embodied the results in a volume entitled *Red Patriots: The Story of the Seminoles* (Cincinnati, Editor Publishing Co., pp. 290), illustrated with pictures taken from those of Catlin.

The Mississippi Historical Society began in 1898 the issue of a series of *Publications*, chiefly under the charge of Professor Franklin L. Riley, of the University of Mississippi, where a branch of the society has been established.

The Filson Club's fourteenth volume consists of an account of Henry Clay's mother, by Hon. Zachary F. Smith, and a genealogy of the Clay family, by Mrs. Mary Rogers Clay.

The *American Historical Magazine*, of Nashville, has completed the publication by installments of the first volume of the Correspondence of General James Robertson. This volume contains 182 documents, and extends from 1784 to 1795. The second volume will proceed to the death of General Robertson in 1814. Its installments have already begun to be printed in the *Magazine*.

The April number of the *Publications of the Southern History Association* contains a readable article by Mr. Lester G. Bugbee, of the University of Texas, on "Some Difficulties of a Texas Empresario" (Stephen F. Austin, 1821-1828); and a petition which General Thomas J. Green, of the Republic of Texas, addressed in 1843 to President Tyler from the castle of Perote, Mexico, in which he was confined after his failure in the Mier expedition.

In the April *Annals of Iowa* the principal article is one on the history of the State University, by Dr. J. L. Pickard, formerly its president.

The latest historical bulletin of the University of Oregon contains a survey of northwestward exploration by Professor F. G. Young, and a brief review of the régime of the Hudson's Bay Company in Oregon, by Mrs. Eva E. Dye.

In the *Colección de Documentos Inéditos relativos á las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas de Ultramar*, the Royal Academy of History at

Madrid has made a beginning of a series of *Relaciones de Yucatan* (Madrid, Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, Vol. I., pp. 436).


Señor V. Llorens has issued at Seville (Rodríguez and López) the first *livraison* of a *Historia General de Filipinas y Catálogo de los Documentos referentes á estas Islas qui se conservan en el Archivo General de Indias*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Strong, *A Forgotten Danger to the New England Colonies* (New England Magazine, April); P. L. Ford, *Benjamin Franklin as Printer and Publisher* (Century, April); W. G. Brown, *William Lowndes Yancey, the Orator of Secession* (Atlantic Monthly, May); W. T. Sampson, *The Atlantic Fleet in the Spanish War* (Century, April); Evans, Taylor, Wainwright, Philip, Cook, Chadwick and others, *The Naval Battle of Santiago* (Century, May).

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